

FBIS

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USSR INTERIOR MINISTRY DELEGATION PAYS VISIT

Arrives 30 Jun

AU300944 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] At the invitation of Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of the interior, a delegation of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, headed by Minister Aleksandr Vlasov, arrived in our country today. The guests were welcomed at Sofia Airport by Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov, by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the National and Social Security Department of the BCP Central Committee, by deputy ministers, and highranking officials of the Ministry of the Interior, as well as by Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Atanasov Receives Vlasov

AU011846 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Sofia, July 1, (BTA) -- Today Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Aleksandr Vlasov, the U.S.S.R. minister of internal affairs.

The meeting, which passed in a cordial comradely atmosphere, was also attended by Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of the interior.

The Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr Leonid Grekov, was also present.

Departs 4 Jul

AU041905 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Varna, July 4 (BTA) -- A delegation of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR, led by Mr. Aleksandr Vlasov, minister of the interior, departed from this country today. It paid an official visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of Mr. Dimitur Stoyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of internal affairs of Bulgaria.

The leader of the delegation was received by Mr. Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The guests had meetings with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

MARKOV DEPARTS FOR MOSCOW 'WORKING VISIT'

AU070811 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 7 Jul 86

[Text] On 7 July Comrade Stoyan Markov departed for Moscow on a working visit. In the Soviet capital he will have talks with Yuriy Marchuk, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology, and will have meetings on implementing the complex program on scientific-technical progress of the CEMA member-countries, mostly in the areas of biotechnologies and electronics. Stoyan Markov will also take part in the work of the 30th session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-USSR Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

NATIONAL COUNCIL DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT STATEMENT

Proceedings Reported

LD031026 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Deputies of the Czech National Council are discussing the program statement of the Czech SR Government at their meeting today. Here is a report on the proceedings from reporter Lubos Lidicky at the Palace of Culture in Prague:

A presentation of the Czech Government's program statement is now being given by its Prime Minister Josef Korcak. He stated that the government's approach in working out in detail the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress is one of critical exactingness. Despite the undoubted success achieved by a number of sectors directly managed by the government, there are weak areas in the work of all sectors, Comrade Korcak stated. In this light, there are fundamental tasks facing each minister, each economic production unit and enterprise, which they must begin to tackle immediately. Therefore, the government program does not overlook any sphere of the life of society which is a determining factor in our further successful development. This involves an improvement in the planned management of the economy, consistent application of sound economic principles in investment construction, modernization of different sectors of industry, new approaches in agricultural production, and a more critical view of the forestry and water management sector.

The Czech Government also sets itself the task of dealing with the problem of the use of secondary production materials, the problem of environmental formation and protection, and with important sectoral issues such as trade, science, education, and culture, as well as issues of enhancing socialist democracy. The Government of the Czech SR and the Czech National Council are faced with very demanding tasks whose fulfillment will call for great effort, responsibility and patient work. We will have to improve management work, including that of the government itself, Comrade Korcak insisted, in addition to influencing the thinking of all the working people, stimulating their activity, and making more effective use of this activity to speed up the country's economic and social development.

Joint reporter Marie Jarosova also will speak later at today's meeting of the Czech National Council which is being conducted by its chairman, Josef Kempny. Eight deputies, who are chairmen of the individual committees, have already applied to speak in the debate.

Colotka Cited on Government Tasks

LD042014 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Report on the "program statement of the Government of the Slovak SR" delivered by Slovak Premier Peter Colotka at the second meeting of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 4 July presented by "parliamentary correspondent" Ladislav Mikus -- passages in quotation marks recorded].

[Text] The new Government of the Slovak SR today in Bratislava presented its program statement to the deputies at the second meeting of the Slovak National Council.

Viliam Salgovic, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council, welcomed at the meeting Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and the Government of the Slovak SR headed by its Premier Peter Colotka, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and members of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPSL Central Committee. He especially welcomed representatives of the consular corps in Bratislava. Our parliamentary correspondent, Ladislav Mikus, reports on the course of the session of today's second meeting of the Slovak National Council:

Viliam Salgovic, the chairman of the Slovak National Council, at the beginning of the meeting introduced all the members of the government that were appointed on 18 June of this year to the deputies. Then the program statement of the Government of the Slovak SR was delivered by Premier Peter Colotka.

In it the government expresses, he said, its will and determination to consistently secure the line of all-round development the way it was set out by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Congress of the CPSL and was adopted as its own by the National Front. He went on to say:

[Colotka] "The Government of the Slovak SR and its organs are above all aiming their attention at increasing the output and efficiency of the economy in Slovakia. In harmony with current economic conditions, we expect Slovakia in the Eighty 5-Year Plan to have more dynamic economic development when, with the statewide increase in the national income of 18-19 percent, the creation of the national income in the Slovak SR should rise by 23-25 percent. The planned growth of the national income is an exceptionally demanding task because we must achieve it through progressive structural changes with a much more effective use of all production factors and a higher use of fuels, energy, and raw material resources and technically progressive and high-quality products. This is why the considerable rise in the quality of products represents, as was pointed out by Comrade Jozef Lenart in the report to the CPSL Congress, a role of foremost political and economic importance. We must, in the government, at ministries, and in the economic and enterprise sphere, manage, plan, organize and stimulate production in such a way as to achieve in Slovakia in this 5-year plan at least a 20 percent share of products of high technical economic level, and thus honorably fulfill this congress task.

"The demanding nature of the tasks requires that we overcome old thinking at all levels of management as well as approaches connected with extensive development. The time demands a more conceptual, imaginative, and fully responsible approach to solving and securing tasks, particularly in those areas that are decisive in the intensification and growth of efficiency. We will be concerned with considerably speeding up scientific and technical development; with more economically using investment means; with deepening international cooperation; with perfecting planned management; and, not least, with developing and more completely using the creative abilities and initiative of the workers."

Then Comrade Peter Colotka spoke in detail about individual sectors managed by the Government of the Slovak SR, about concentrating on the research and agricultural implementation of the results of the chemical industry and wood processing, the protection of the environment and the perfecting of health care. He pointed out the reserves in investment building and in the deepening of international economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Then he concerned himself with the tasks of construction, transport and agriculture and questions of the growth of the standard of living, services, housing, education, health services, social care and culture and the perfecting of the work of the national committees. In this connection he said:

[Colotka] "In the forefront of the lasting attention of the government and the relevant ministries will be the increase in the political and expert qualities of state management carried out by the national committees, increasing administrative demand and rationalization of labor and its apparatus. Deputies, elected organs, and officials must demand full responsibility for the quality of state management from the apparatus and a sensitive approach to the citizens, and they must be more decisive in dealing with existing manifestations of bureaucracy, indifference, and individual law violations. At the same time national committees must take care to ensure that, in connection with their rights, citizens fulfill duties set by law, because only in this indivisible unity is it possible to strengthen the life certainties of society and its individual citizens.

We have reserves for further improving the efficiency of management in improving the work methods and effectiveness of individual ministries and other central organs of state management as well as in deepening their mutual action, particularly in [word indistinct] and sector ministries. We will more effectively struggle against parochial sector interests, we will demand that management workers implement the interests of society and in this direction strengthen the coordinating function of objective organs, the deputy premier of the government and the government itself. The Government of the Slovak SR approaches the tasks that were set out by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress with the resolution to make a maximum contribution to speeding up social economic development; to increasing the economic and defense potential of our society; to strengthening the fraternal coexistence of the Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities; and to further strengthening the unity of the Republic. Together with the highest representative organ of the Republic, the Slovak National Council -- which by its activity has consistently developed the revolutionary traditions of the Slovak SR from the period of the Slovak national uprising and the epoch of the building of socialism -- and the organs and organizations of the National Front, under the leadership of the CPCZ, we will unify the efforts of our workers, agriculture workers, members of the intelligentsia and of all the working people to effectively contribute to the flourishing of our Slovakia and all of our Czechoslovak homeland to strengthen the cause of socialism and to preserve lasting peace for the present and future generations of our beautiful homeland, which is dear to us all."

After Peter Colotka's speech, 16 deputies spoke in the discussion. They all expressed support for the program statement of the government because it concentrates all its efforts toward speeding up the social economic development of our society. The discussion was, however, in a critical spirit. It positively evaluated the results achieved up to now, but it made a number of proposals on improving further work. The deputies asked that greater emphasis be placed on the modernization of the production technology base for the reduction of material and energy demand, on questions of planning and management so that greater effectiveness is achieved, and on the importance not only of education but also on upbringing regarding ones attitude toward work and society.

In the adopted resolution, the Slovak National Council approved the program statement of the Government of the Slovak SR and expressed confidence in the government. At the close the deputies approved the report on the activity of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council in the last period.

After the second meeting, the Slovak National Council Presidium declared the spring session closed.

Deputies Express 'Agreement'

LD032109 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Deputies of the Czech National Council at their meeting in Prague today expressed agreement with the Czech Government program statement and expressed confidence in the government in a unanimously adopted resolution.

In the closing speech, Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, premier of the Czech Government, thanked the deputies for their active approach to the session on the program statement and assured them that the conclusions and points brought up during the discussion will be used by the government in its future activity.

Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the Czech National Council, emphasized that the Czech National Council will support the government and help as much as possible within its constitutional means in the effort to fulfill the government program in the next 5 years in the interest of the successful development of the Czech and Czechoslovak SR. He expressed the conviction that by joint effort in the legislative, regulative, and initiating activity, all tasks will be fulfilled and both organs will thus contribute to the realization of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

GOVERNMENT 'EVALUATES' DRAFT 5-YEAR PLAN

LD031750 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government evaluated the proposed draft Eighth 5-Year Plan for the development of the national economy and the plan for scientific and technical development for 1986-1990, and draft state operational plans for the next year.

They stated that the draft plans secure the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the tasks contained in the Main Guidelines of Economic and Social Development of the Republic. In particular, they secure the basic strategic task, the speeding up of social economic development by way of intensification; the implementation of science and technology; and the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation with CEMA countries, in particular with the Soviet Union by way of improving the quality of production and making better use of all resources in the interests of further growth of the standard of living of the people and the securing of the defense capability of our country.

The Presidium of the party's Central Committee and the federal government have charged party organs and organizations, members of governments and leading economic officials, with working out the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the operational plan for the next year in economic production units and enterprises into concrete measures, and thus create the necessary conditions for their fulfillment. They emphasized that one of the decisive prerequisites of the realization of the goals set out is an improvement in management and organizational work, consistent familiarization with the demanding tasks of the plans, and discussion of how they are to be secured with all workers. At the same time, they emphasized the need to concentrate on the fulfillment of the tasks of the plan for this year, the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, especially in its qualitative indicators.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government expect that wide development of initiative and activity of the workers, particularly aimed at achieving high efficiency and economy, will make a significant contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks set out.

COMMENTARY VIEWS POLAND'S 10TH PARTY CONGRESS

LD051419 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Vaclav Kasnicka commentary]

[Text] The 10th PZPR Congress which took place this week in Warsaw exceptionally attracted great attention from the whole world. This is why Vaclav Kvasnicka chose this as the topic for the commentary of the week:

In the past period the congresses of almost all communist and workers parties of socialist countries have already taken place. Of course, every one of them had its specific characteristics, but they had one thing in common. This was the effort to achieve a qualitatively higher stage of the development of socialism for the benefit of the people of those countries and for the strengthening of security and peace in the world.

Despite this, the 10th PZPR Congress was in one respect different from the others. This is because it took place after the people of Poland as well as the PZPR had experienced a period of great crisis which was unfavorably projected into the life of society and of every Pole. It meant a serious test in the struggle for socialism. This is why if Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, could declare from the congress platform that the enemy's claims that the Polish nation is disappointed in socialism are not true, and that on the contrary that the majority of Polish society supports the goals of the socialist system, then this is a great victory not only for Polish Communists but for socialism as such.

At the same time the Polish experiences teach us that the struggle for socialism is not easy, that it takes place in a world full of antagonism, in a world in which the historic struggle between socialism and capitalism is taking place, a struggle which is being projected into all spheres of our, and international life, and in the form of the crusade by Washington against communism which has a fully planned and massively financed objective. This is why the Polish crisis at the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties was primarily a reflection of the situation and complicated nature of the present confrontation of the two social systems. At that time in Washington they were already tolling the bell for socialism in Poland, and Reagan's administration made no secret of the fact that Poland was ready to bury socialism and part company with the other socialist states.

Precisely during this period of modern Polish history is found the source of many lessons which are valid not only for the Polish people. The most important of these is that despite the complicated nature of resolving the tasks of building socialism and the heightening destructive influence of foreign enemy centers, socialism has grown deep roots and the workers of socialist countries cannot imagine life without it. For the Polish crisis was not a protest of the Polish worker, the resistance of Polish workers to socialism; rather it was primarily a protest against those deformations that cost the Poles dearly and about which Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke so openly even from the congress platform. This basic lesson from the Polish crisis however, was explained by many in the West in their own way.

They said that they were concerned about the fate of the Polish nation, but in reality they were concerned with the liquidation of socialism in Poland. And when they did not succeed they unleashed a feverish anti-Polish campaign and inflicted a whole number of discriminatory sanctions against Poland.

At present, the U.S. Administration in particular feels so strong that in addition to a differentiated approach toward individual socialist states, in which it attempts to give preference to some to the detriment of others to drive a wedge between them, it also employs a joint global strategy against them all. It is attempting to cripple the economic strength of socialism with the arms race. This is why they speak openly in Washington of the fact that Ronald Reagan is trying to bring the Soviet Union to its knees through the arms race. That is also why he does not want to agree to any disarmament proposals from the Soviet Union and is relying on military power. Such a power game is in reality an expression of moral and political weakness of the leading force of the imperialist world, the United States.

This is also why Mikhail Gorbachev, head of the Soviet delegation, said from the platform of the 10th PZPR Congress that we have a comradely interest in Poland being a strong, independent socialist state, an active member of the socialist community and a strong link within it. This corresponds to the vital interests of the Polish people and our joint cause. Yes, it corresponds to the historic struggle for social progress and peace in the world. This is why the course and results of the congress of Polish communists pleased the allies of socialism and peace and were a disappointment to those who oppose it.

TURKISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER ARRIVES

Received by Chnoupek

LD031618 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Vahit Halefoglul, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and his wife, arrived today for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. The guest and his entourage were welcomed at the airport by Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, and other representatives.

Holds Talks With Chnoupek

LD041052 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Talks took place today in Prague's Cernin Palace between Bohuslav Chnoupek and Vahit Halefoglul, ministers of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Turkey.

The two ministers noted that relations between the two countries are stable, and are developing on the firm foundations and principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and of mutual advantage. They confirmed their governments' interest in raising contacts in the political sphere to a higher level. They also exchanged views on further intensification of economic cooperation, using all modern forms including the expansion of production cooperation, and cooperation in third markets.

The Czechoslovak side expressed readiness to provide further supplies of investment equipment for the Turkish rubber and chemical industry, and particularly for power engineering.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Vahit Halefoglul pointed out both sides' interest in establishing cooperation in agriculture, and in stepping up cultural exchanges, and they discussed ways of developing cooperation between the mass media of the two states.

Attends Luncheon

LD041520 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1430 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and his wife, gave an official luncheon today in honor of Vahit Halefoglul, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and his wife.

In a speech at the luncheon, Bohuslav Chnoupek underlined the importance of the appeal to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe adopted at the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. He stressed that together with our allies, we are striving to ensure that even in the current complicated situation, businesslike talks should continue with a view to averting the danger of nuclear war. Our program, continued Bohuslav Chnoupek, is one of building a comprehensive system of international security.

Received by Husak

LD041422 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak received Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglul in Prague castle today.

They positively assessed the long-standing Czechoslovak-Turkish relations, and indicated ways of further expanding and strengthening them during their talk. Both sides stressed that the development of mutual relations and cooperation is in keeping with the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and with the effort to ensure lasting peace throughout the world.

Received by Strougal

LD041716 Prague CTK in English 1606 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Prague, July 4 (CTK) -- Visiting Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglul was received today by Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal.

The Czechoslovak premier said he was convinced that the visit will mean an important step towards the development of political, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries.

The two officials stressed that it was necessary and advantageous to intensify economic and scientific-technological cooperation which, as regards its extent, does not correspond to the economic potentials of Czechoslovakia and Turkey.

Interviewed by Prague Radio

LD051415 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Vahit Halefoglul, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, gave an interview to Josef Valiska of Prague Radio. When asked about the results of his talks with Czechoslovak representatives and how he sees perspectives of Czechoslovak-Turkish cooperation, he replied:

[Begin Halefoglul recording in English fading into Czech translation] In my opinion there are four main areas. First, I would like to speak about trade exchange. This should develop, the commodity structure of our trade should be widened, and a balance of the Czechoslovak-Turkish trade should be achieved. Second, there is economic cooperation, whether by means of joint action in Turkey or by way of Czechoslovak-Turkish cooperation on third markets. Third, the area of culture is of great significance because both our countries have rich cultural traditions and they therefore have something to offer in the cultural field. And finally it is necessary to take care to exchange information about political problems. We decided that we will regularly continue meetings between the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Turkey and their colleagues, because this helps the development of mutual relations. I think that the present level of cooperation is not yet satisfactory, and that is why we should build foundations for wider and stronger cooperation. [end recording]

Chnoupek Hosts Dinner

LD041354 Prague CTK in English 1306 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Prague, July 4 (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said today at a dinner for his Turkish guest Vahit Halefoglul that good preconditions exist for the successful development of Czechoslovak-Turkish economic relations.

He pointed out the usefulness of political dialogue between the two countries and called for its extension. He voiced interest in intensification of economic and cultural cooperation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek said the international situation was complex, due to the policy of neoglobalism of the most reactionary imperialist circles which are trying to upset strategic balance.

The minister stressed that matter-of-fact talks should continue to avert the danger of nuclear war. He said the socialist countries seek to establish a comprehensive system of international security and regard complete liquidation of nuclear weapons by the end of the century as its most important part.

Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed the importance of the Warsaw Treaty appeal to reduce armed forces and conventional armament in Europe and mentioned the Czechoslovak-GDR proposal to create a zone without chemical weapons in Central Europe, and other peace initiatives.

Czechoslovakia believes that all preconditions exist to achieve a peaceful and just solution in all regions of conflict and tension, from the Mediterranean, the Middle East, across the south of Africa as far as Central America, Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

FISCHER, USSR'S LOGINOV DISCUSS 'PEACE PROGRAM'

LD032215 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1838 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Berlin, 3 Jul (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vadim Loginov expressed at a meeting [date, place not specified] the deep interest of their countries in a beneficial international development. On the basis of the latest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Council in Budapest, they will do everything to contribute to an improvement of the world situation.

The socialist countries have again pointed the way in which the tense international situation can be overcome and mankind liberated from the nightmare of a nuclear conflagration, the ministers said. They affirmed that the GDR and the USSR, in the closest cooperation with the other socialist fraternal states, will use every opportunity to realize socialism's complex peace program. It is the declared goal to free the world from all nuclear weapons and to prevent the militarization of space. An end to nuclear tests would be a significant step toward a stop to the arms race.

The partners in the talks stressed that the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe should be concluded with substantial results.

MITTAG-LED DELEGATION ARRIVES IN TOKYO FOR TALKS

LD031623 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1331 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Tokyo, 3 Jul (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Tokyo today for a several-day visit to Japan. He was invited by Ichiro Sato, chairman of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee of the Liberal-Democratic Party for Japan-GDR economic questions.

The program of the visit, it was officially stated at a press conference given by the Japanese Foreign Ministry, includes talks with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe, other leading politicians, and representatives of industry and trade on the further development of mutually advantageous relations between the GDR and Japan.

Guenter Mittag is accompanied by Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, and Secretary of State Dr Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski. On their arrival at Haneda Airport, the guests were given a warm welcome by Ichiro Sato and chairman of the Japan-GDR Economic Committee, Dr Eishiro Saito.

The two Japanese politicians assessed the visit as being a new sign of the good relations between the two states, and expressed the conviction that it would serve their further development. One of the major tasks concerning current foreign policy is that the leading politicians of the two countries should meet and discuss important matters directly, Ichiro Sato said in the talk.

The airport welcoming ceremony was also attended by the executive members of the Japan-GDR Economic Committee, Yuzuru Abe, Gakuji Moriya, H. Suzuki, Bing Igarashi and H. Matsuda, secretary of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee.

The GDR ambassador to Japan, Dieter Jaeger, and directors general of GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines were also present.

In a statement to the Japanese press, Guenter Mittag praised the level of cooperation achieved in various spheres since the state visit by Erich Honecker to Japan in 1981, especially in politics, the economy and culture. In this the GDR is guided by the paramount principle that cooperation between states serves peace.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, the GDR consistently works for an end to the arms race on earth and to prevent it from spreading into space, Guenter Mittag said in his statement. The new disarmament proposals contained in the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Pact states shows an immediately viable path for averting the disaster of a nuclear war and for improving the international situation.

The GDR is conducting a political dialogue with states with different social orders so that moderation, reason, and realism retain the upper hand in international relations.

In this sense he also looks forward to his forthcoming talks in Tokyo with interest, and the certainty that they will help to deepen the relations between the GDR and Japan and thereby at the same time serve to preserve peace.

During Guenter Mittag's visit to Japan the 15th joint session of the GDR-Japan and Japan-GDR economic committees will also take place. From 4-7 July 1986, the members of the two bodies will discuss scope for expanding trade and economic relations, and will reach agreement on a working program through the end of 1987. During a stopover in Moscow on Wednesday evening, Guenter Mittag held a warm, friendly talk with Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Visits Scientific Institutions

LD041323 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1209 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Tokyo, 4 Jul (ADN) -- On the second day of his visit to Japan, Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, visited research institutes in Tsukuba, the scientists' city near Tokyo, today. Specialists in various spheres informed him about the latest developments in the fields of microelectronics robot technology, laser technology, high energy, and other high technologies.

On his return, Guenter Mittag had a cordial meeting in the evening in Tokyo with the chairman of the Dietman's League for Japan-GDR Friendship, Yoshihiko Tsuchiya.

Mittag, Eishiro Saito Holds Talks

LD061230 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1038 CMT 6 Jul 86

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Jul (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, held talks with Dr Eishiro Saito, chairman of the Keidanren and of the Japan-GDR Economic Committee, at the guest house of the Japanese employers' federation Keidanren in Hakone near Tokyo on Sunday.

He pointed out that, on the basis of the directive for the development of the national economy during the 1986-90 5-Year Plan adopted by the 11th SED Congress, expanded opportunities exist for increasing economic relations as well as scientific-technological relations.

Guenter Mittag also underlined that the GDR-Japan and Japan-GDR Economic Committees, which have been in existence for 15 years, have made a great contribution to the further development of economic relations.

Dr Saito praised the GDR's steady economic development and the comprehensive, mutually beneficial, relations between leading Japanese firms and foreign trade enterprises, and combines of the GDR. Good conditions and relevant interest will continue to exist on the Japanese side for the development of this economic cooperation.

In the course of the meeting the two sides emphasized that the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders and the path of comprehensive disarmament were the bases of the prospect of constructive cooperation which served the prosperity of the peoples.

The meeting was also attended by Dr Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade and chairman of the GDR-Japan Economic Committee.

VACLAVIK, CSSR DELEGATION CONTINUE VISIT

Received by Honecker

LD032038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received a delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army today in Berlin, led by Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense. Erich Honecker praised the visit of the military delegation as a new expression of the close links between the parties, people and armies of the two fraternal socialist countries. Their fraternal bond has proved to be a stable factor of peace on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism in Europe, he stated. Both sides confirmed that together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, they will do everything necessary to further strengthen the unbreakable bond of the Warsaw Pact states in the interests of safeguarding peace.

Honecker Decorates Vaclavik

LD032016 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Erich Honecker today reiterated his all for concrete disarmament steps in the nuclear and conventional field. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee, State Council chairman, and chairman of the National Defense Council was speaking in Berlin at a meeting with CSSR Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik.

Erich Honecker presented the CSSR defense minister with the Scharnhorst Order for his efforts in promoting the friendship and the class and arms alliance between the two countries.

Visit Military Academy

LD032230 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] The delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army, headed by Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, is continuing its visit to the GDR. Today it visited the Friedrich Engels Military Academy in Dresden. Accompanied by Lieutenant General Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister of national defense of the GDR of the GDR, it expressed interest in the training, education, and research at the school.

Received by Kessler

LD041708 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1504 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Berlin, 4 Jul (ADN) -- On Friday [4 July], Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, received the CSSR military delegation which has been in the GDR for several days under the leadership of Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of national defense, for a final talk. Kessler said that in their political and combat training, GDR soldiers are consistently guided by efforts to safeguard a life of peace, together with the Soviet Armed Forces and the other allied armies.

Vaclavik stated that the members of the military delegation have once again been strengthened in their certainty that they have reliable comrades-in-arms in the GDR National People's Army at whose side the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army can at all times honorably fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duty.

Conclude Visit, Depart

LD041718 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Berlin, July 4 (CTK correspondent) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army, headed by Minister of Defence Milan Vaclavik, ended its visit to the German Democratic Republic today and left for home.

HONECKER CONGRATULATES LCY'S RENOVICA ON ELECTION

AU030949 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 86 p 1

[Text] Dear Comrade Milanko Renovica! On the occasion of your election as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium I convey to you cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

With the 13th LCY Congress that has just been concluded, the Communists of friendly Yugoslavia have set themselves far-reaching tasks on the path of building socialism. In the struggle to safeguard peace and social progress the traditionally close cooperation between our parties will also further develop successfully in the future, we are certain of that.

I wish you success, health, and creative vigor for your responsible work. With communist greetings, Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary.

KADAR, OTHERS RECEIVE U.S. SENATOR PRESSLER

LD031256 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Janos Kadar has met with U.S. Senator Larry Pressler who is paying a private visit to Hungary. The politician from Washington is chairman of the European subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and also heads the tourism subcommittee of the Commerce Committee. At the meeting the two sides surveyed developments in Hungarian-U.S. relations and possibilities for the development of economic cooperation.

Larry Pressler also met with Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

EEC URGED TO LIFT IMPORT RESTRICTIONS

LD040858 Budapest MTI in English 0759 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Budapest, July 4 (MTI) -- The Hungarian Government has recently informed the Commission of the European Communities on its continued readiness to sign an agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC) on lifting, within reasonable time, the discriminative non-tariff import restrictions that are incompatible with the general agreement on tariffs and trade. At present some 300 Hungarian agricultural and industrial products are exposed to discrimination by the common market countries. It is all the more unfavourable for Hungary, as 40 per cent of its hard-currency exports go to the EEC countries. Hungary also considers the lifting of discriminative measures an important political issue.

Hungary first expressed readiness to sign a bilateral trade agreement with EEC in 1982-1983. Talks were held, both on high and expert level, with the EC commission and the various memberstates to find out whether the conditions were ripe for official commercial talks with EEC. The answer was no.

The EEC member states have compiled separate lists of imports from the socialist countries (except Yugoslavia) exposed to discrimination. Hungary was mainly hit by the French and Italian embargoes. It exports, for instance, 10 million dollars' worth of honey a year to the EEC and it could increase deliveries many times over if the restrictions were lifted.

Hungary holds the position that the majority of the restrictions cannot be justified by any economic consideration, but are based upon political motivations, as was once again proved in May when EEC, on the pretext of the Chernobyl accident, limited the import of farm produce and food.

Hungary is of the view that the terms of an eventual agreement with the EEC have not changed since 1982-1983. It demands that, under the rules of GATT signed by Hungary in 1973, EEC should lift the unlawful quantitative restrictions imposed on Hungarian goods, and expects the EEC to grant the same customs preferences to its farm and food exports as to the rival countries.

VARKONYI ARRIVES IN FRG FOR 'OFFICIAL VISIT'

LD062334 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Jul 86

[Text] Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi has arrived in the FRG. He was invited for an official visit by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the Federal Government.

Talks Begin

LD071050 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Jul 86

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Minister has begun his talks in the West German capital. Zsolt Szalai reports:

Peter Varkonyi, who has a rich program for today, is currently paying a visit to Helmut Kohl. This morning he has already had one round of talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German foreign minister. Besides this, he also met the speaker of the Bundestag and several leaders of the Social Democrats. He will hold also talks with representatives of the other parliamentary parties, including the Greens and the Democrats. Tomorrow, directly before leaving for home, he will be received by President von Weizsaecker.

According to information gained at the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, besides reviewing relations between the two countries, Peter Varkonyi's visit is considered very significant here also from the point of view of the development of East-West relations. Genscher wants to find out more details about the most recent Budapest proposals of the Warsaw Pact before his official visit to Moscow during the second half of this month. Also, the Hungarian-West German foreign ministerial talks held here and the Soviet-West German foreign ministerial talks to be held in Moscow incidentally coincide with the U.S. statements that are less negative concerning the Soviet disarmament proposals, something that could animate East-West dialogue.

CSSR'S MILOS JAKES ARRIVES FOR VISIT 7 JULY

LD071001 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 7 Jul 86

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has arrived in Budapest today for a 1-day working visit. The visit is taking place at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Received by Kadar

LD071052 Budapest MTI in English 1010 GMT 7 Jul 86

[Text] Budapest, July 7 (MTI) -- On Monday Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Milos Jakes, presidential member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, secretary of the Central Committee, currently on a brief working visit in Hungary.

The cordial comradely talks were attended Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, secretary of the Central Committee, Bela Kovacs, Hungarian ambassador to Prague, and Oldrich Mohelsky, charge d'affaires ad interim at the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Hungary.

ECONOMIC CONGRESS VIEWS ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

LDO42140 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] The 25th itinerary congress of economists opened in Miskolc today. It will deal with topical issues of our economic policy, such as the desirable enterprise conduct, strategy, and cooperation. The itinerary congress was addressed this morning by Lenard Pal, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. He said, among other things:

[Begin recording] It is well known that one of the major obstacles to the improvement of enterprise economic management is the restricted nature of the enterprises; room to maneuver. Today's biggest problems are posed by the lack of fulfillment of the investment requirements that are considered necessary, the far too slow trickle of working capital imports, the unsatisfactory rate of capital reorientation, and the excessive centralization of earnings.

Creating the conditions necessary for modernizing production is indeed difficult without investment. Despite this, I believe that the barrier to progress should not be sought today in the level of accumulation, which is not slow in our country by international standards. The reasons for the slow rate in the modernization of production should be sought, among other things, in the inadequate, not intensive enough utilization of investment resources, in the low efficiency of investment processes and, first and foremost, in the fact that a large proportion of realized investment projects were of the kind that simply expanded capacity and preserved the old technology and production.

The deduction of a significant portion of the profits is, as you are well aware, a temporary measure forced upon us. As soon as demand for support from the budget can be reduced, and if the foreign trade balance improves, then it will be possible to fully implement in this area as well as the requirements aimed at increasing efficiency.

It is also true, however, that, despite the far-reaching centralization of earnings in the first 5 months of 1986, the enterprise investments' total exceeded that of the same period last year by 12 percent and the wages paid increased by 7.3 percent; and yet industrial production only rose by 1.7 percent in the same period. (end recording).

10TH PZPR CONGRESS ENDS WITH ELECTIONS ON 3 JUL

Czyrek Proposes Jaruzelski Candidacy

LD032313 Warsaw PAP in English 2042 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Warsaw, July 3: On Thursday, July 3 at 09:00 hours the debates of the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party resumed behind closed doors. This part of debate was presided over by Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Chairman of the Returns Commission Tadesuz Czechowicz presented the results of elections to central party authorities, held Wednesday [2 July] night. The protocol of the Returns Commission states the election of a 230-person Central Committee and a 130-person Central Audit-Control Commission. On behalf of the Returns Commission, its chairman congratulated the newly elected Central Committee of the PUWP and the Central Audit-Control Commission. The congratulations and wishes were received by the delegates with an ovation.

On behalf of the congress Presidium, Jozef Czyrek told the delegates the first plenum of the CC had proposed Wojciech Jaruzelski for first secretary of the CC, which the delegates welcomed with ovation.

"Proposing Wojciech Jaruzelski, the CC was aware that the candidate met the expectations of the delegates and the whole party," Czyrek said, to which the congress responded with long applause, just as the news that Jaruzelski had also been recommended by the Presidium of the Congress.

Czyrek said he believed there was no need to go ahead with elaborate justification of Jaruzelski's candidacy, as everybody knew his life story and role in the work of the party and state.

"He had fought for the homeland's independence and defended our Polish people's democratic revolution, made outstanding contribution into the strengthening of People's Poland's defence potential and forming the ideological, political and patriotic profile of the Armed Forces which under his command passed its historic test, defending Poland, peace and socialism," Czyrek said. "At a time of unusual danger, he took upon his shoulders the great responsibility and hardship of overcoming a dangerous crisis and bringing the country onto a road of the socialist renewal, national agreement and rebirth," he added.

"Our congress has evaluated party and state achievements in that work and let that evaluation stand for the delegates' recommendation in support of Wojciech Jaruzelski's candidacy for the post of first secretary," Czyrek said to long, intense applause from the delegates. "To implement the grandiose and difficult tasks posed by the congress, the party and country will need a helmsman of just that stature, so much dedicated to the cause of the nation and its socialist state, a creative architect of further, socialist transformation of our homeland, and at the same time an unusually hard-working and modest man, one who is sensitive to people's problems and is a statesman of prominent contribution into strengthening Poland's role and position in the socialist community, Europe and worldwide.

"Considering Comrade Jaruzelski's life story, individual qualities, attitude and achievements, we can be confident that the resolutions and decisions of the congress will be consistently and with dedication implemented, for the benefit of the working people and their socialist homeland," Czyrek concluded.

Wojciech Jaruzelski received ovational welcome as candidate for the party's first secretary.

After a break, Czyrek announced to the delegates that in tune with the recommendation, the first plenary meeting of the Central Committee elected Wojciech Jaruzelski first secretary of the CC. It met with thunderous applause from the delegates.

New Central Committee Meets

LD032255 Warsaw PAP in English 1624 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Warsaw, July 3: During a break in the debates of the last day of the 10th PUWP Congress, the newly elected PUWP Central Committee had its first full session here today to nominate candidates to the post of its first secretary and to elect the Political Bureau and PUWP CC Secretariat. According to regulations on the election of PUWP delegates, authorities, and control organs, the Presidium of the Congress consults the delegates for nominees to the post of the CC first secretary. According to these regulations, the number of nominees to the latter post is decided upon by party committees, which they do in an open voting.

Henryk Jablonski, the doyen of CC members, took the floor to speak on the election of the first secretary. He said he was expressing the wish of not only members of congress Presidium but of all participants in the congress as well as of over two million party members that he who had taken the party through the toughest period in history and was architect of multi-pronged actions which restored political and moral strength to the party chose to continue to hold the post of the helmsman of the PUWP CC. His actions let the Polish working class recover its leading role within the nation and let the Polish People's Republic resume its due place in the family of socialist countries, Jablonski said.

Jablonski also pointed to the fact that the party starts a new stage on the road mapped out five years back. This is the source of unanimity and the universal conviction about the need for continuation at the toughest and most responsible post within the party, he said.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's candidature to the post was received with an ovation, and no other nominees were named for the post. The Central Committee approved the candidature by open voting, with one abstention (by Wojciech Jaruzelski). The candidature proposed by the Central Committee next received full approval of both the congress Presidium and delegates to the congress.

Next, a secret ballot meant to elect the first secretary was held. Taking part in the voting were the 229 members of the Central Committee present at the full session. Out of the 229 votes cast, 228 were cast in favour of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Speaking on behalf of the Central Committee, Jozef Czyrek warmly congratulated Wojciech Jaruzelski upon being elected to the post. Said he: "The choice we have just made is concordant with the will and expectations of the 10th PUWP Congress and of our entire party. This means election of a leader to correspond to the huge, responsible tasks which the 10th Congress will have laid down for us to effect."

While addressing Wojciech Jaruzelski, Czyrek said: "We are deeply convinced that you will discharge these tasks with the same selflessness and commitment which were so characteristic of you in your to-date activities."

Wojciech Jaruzelski next took over as chairman of the session. He expressed warm thanks for electing him to the post, for confidence vested with him, which -- he said -- is a great obligation. Next, delegates to the congress were consulted on candidatures for Political Bureau and CC Secretariat during a break in the full session. The list of candidates, presented by CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski was approved of by the CC. Wojciech Jaruzelski conveyed cordial greetings of fruitful work to the elected members of the Political Bureau and the PUWP CC Secretariat.

Newly Elected Officials Named

LD031755 Warsaw PAP in English 1718 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Warsaw, July 3: Following are the names of the newly elected members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau members: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Baryla, Jozef Czyrek, Jan Glowczyk, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Zbigniew Messner, Alfred Miodowicz, Wlodzimierz Mikrzychowski, Zygmunt Muranski, Marian Orzechowski, Tadeusz Porebski, Florian Siwicki, Sofia Stepien, and Marian Wozniak.

Following are the newly elected alternate members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau: Stanislaw Bejger, Bogumil Ferensztajn, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Zbigniew Michalek and Gabriela Rembisz.

Following are newly elected secretaries of the PUWP CC: Jozef Baryla, Henryk Bednarski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypriniak, Jozef Czyrek, Jan Glowczyk, Zbigniew Michalek, Tadeusz Porebski, Andrzej Wasilewski, and Marian Wozniak.

Auditing Group Leaders Elected

LD032251 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Warsaw, July 3 -- The first plenary session of the PUWP Central Control-Auditing Commission was held today with PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski chairing the debates. Wlodzimierz Mokrzychowski was elected chairman of the 130-member Central Control-Auditing Commission.

The following were elected deputy chairman: Deputy Chairman of the former PUWP Central Commission of Party Control Tadeusz Nowicki, PUWP Voivodship Committee First Secretary in Legnica Jerzy Wilk, Chairman of the Supreme Board of Control Tadeusz Hypalowski, an expert at the industrial group of enterprises of technical service for agriculture in Bydgoszcz, Malgorzata Skonieczna, a fitter-welder at the cellulose-paperplant in Wloclawek, Bogumil Moraczewski.

Glowczyk Reviews Team's Work

LD031215 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0951 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Speech by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at 10th PZPR Central in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science -- live]

[Text] [Glowczyk] Esteemed comrades, on the third day of the 10th Congress, 310 delegates, together with the 700 invited guests, took part in the sessions of the 14 subject teams. Three hundred and ten delegates took part in the discussion -- a third of this number were workers -- and 27 invited guests took part in the discussion as well.

Seven hundred and seventy delegates and 37 guests submitted their speeches for inclusion in the protocol. If one counts others who wanted their speeches to be included in the protocol, in all 1,140 participants in the subject team sessions, including 1,080 delegates to the 10th Congress, had their say.

The reports of the discussions in the individual groups are included in the bulletin handed to the comrades. The conclusions published concern all areas, and form rich material for the work of the newly elected Central Committee. They have been conveyed to the congress resolution commission and will be utilized in drawing up the specifics of the schedule for implementing the resolution.

In the rich and varied discussions in the subject groups, unequivocal support was voiced for the course of the party's program, which was defined in the report by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, for the course of effective implementation, the course of socialist consistence. [applause]

The tasks addressed to all party members and to party organizations and echelons concerning the economy and reform, intraparty activity, sociopolitical life, and the foreign policy of the party and the state, have met with approval from the delegates who have spoken in the groups. The discussion participants have expressed support for the draft party program, which was presented to the congress.

However, acceptance of the aims and tasks included in the documents presented to the congress was linked in the group discussion with criticism of the methods that have been applied to date and the style of work in the party and administration and public organizations. Many causes have been pointed out, including above all many subjective ones, for the incomplete implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Congress. Thought has been given to such forms of one's own work and that of others that would ensure effective implementation of the resolutions of the 10th Congress.

The deliberations of the groups dealing with socioeconomic problems were characterized by a party view of the economy and by criticism treated as creative inspiration for new and improved work. Most of the speeches pointed out the positive results of introduction of the economic reform, both in the functioning of enterprises and in the gradual redesign of the economic consciousness of society. The view was expressed that the main directions of reform adopted by the 10th Congress have proved themselves in practice.

At the same time, worrying phenomena have been reported. These include the tendency to keep using old habits and to continue to act in a way that fails to take account of rational criteria. Support was universally voiced for radically accelerating the economic reform. Contributions regarding this issue, made by workers and representatives of the community of engineers and of economic experts, were unanimous here. Acceleration is necessary at the current stage in order to be able to ensure effectiveness in a more efficient manner, to reach equilibrium faster, to strengthen work motivation, and to accelerate the increase of the national income. This will not come easy. Comrade Jerzy Sytek spoke of this in his fighting speech. We have not yet learned to pay for work. The pressure on remuneration is frequently in an inverse relation to productivity. We must come to learn the bitter taste of the reform, for without this it will not be effective.

The initiative to carry out a general review of organizational structures within the economy, the state, and the party, contained in the Central Committee report, has gained complete support. An opportunity for giving greater support to the economic reform was discerned in this grand undertaking.

Job certification and evaluation, said Comrade Bogdan Guz, from Radom, is a very important element of rationalization of employment. It cannot, however, be an action carried out in spurts and starts; rather, it must be a constant method of action. Many speakers drew attention to the necessity of accelerating the structural changes within the economy. It was pointed out that it is possible to attain this goal in stages, through rational structural decisions of self-financing enterprises.

These should be reflected in the changes of the profile and in modernization of production, in accelerating the processes whereby the final output is made to correspond more with modern requirements, in better adapting oneself to the market and export requirements.

Restructuring, said Comrade Mieczyslaw Lewandowski from Szczecin, is essential, although it is frequently a painful process. It will be less painful if we tackle it without waiting to go bankrupt.

Issues relating to orienting the economy more toward exports took up a great deal of time during the team sessions. It was pointed out that numerous industries and enterprises exist that have opportunities waiting to be used to increase export. Comrade Krystyna Besprzynska, a forewoman from the Zary Clothing Industry Enterprise, said that it was necessary to take a selective view of the development of export. The choice is difficult, but it is essential. One has to make a decision and choose enterprises capable of tackling competition on the world markets; it is these enterprises that need support.

The issue of enhancing the interest shown by enterprises in introducing technical innovations and of eliminating the barriers that impede modern solutions passing from the scientific superstructure to production process came to be regarded as one of the main issues.

The divergence between research and development work and the needs of industry, which continues to occur, was pointed out. The adversary of the engineer-innovator, it was stressed, is often not so much bureaucracy or bad regulations, but another engineer who has done nothing and has never invented anything. Party organizations should try to overcome envious groups which arise swiftly as soon as an unconventional innovation or solution is found.

The interest taken in the problems of the countryside and the food economy is proven by the participation in the teams of more than 200 delegates and invited guests. During the discussion they pointed out that the proper use made of resources depends on the agricultural industry itself and on other departments that work for the cause of agriculture. Just as the participants of plenary debates had done, they signaled the need for changes in the regulations governing land economy, for an improvement in the processes of selling and exchanging, and for the integration of land in such a way as to ensure, as Comrade Jerzy Swiderski said, that it finds itself in the best possible hands.

The possibility of increasing the production of food lies in the improvement of the agrarian structure, in the improvement of the professional qualifications of farmers, and in making up for the delays in the development of the agriculture and food industry. Jozef Rekowski, from the Gdansk Voivodship, said in part that progress in the agricultural and food processing industry will not only prevent wastage but will make branch of industry an important export unit. It was accepted that a significant task for the party is its role in inspiring the expansion and improvement of agricultural and cooperative self-management work in the countryside.

After matters relating to improvements in providing food for the nation the most important issue during the subject group sessions concerning the needs of society was the subject of housing construction. Participants insisted that the economic policy should place more stress on housing construction. In the present 5-year period this must be preceded by the expansion of industries that produce technical means and building materials in order that, in the next 5-year period, we can radically increase the speed of housing construction.

Those who are employed in the construction industry, among them Comrade Edward Krol from Lodz and Comrade Wacław Maciolka from Legionowo, pointed out the depreciation of the fixed assets of the building industry and the shortage of modern machinery, even that of simple tools. In a critical and self-critical way attention was also drawn to the lack of consistency in the improvement of labor organization in the building industry and in the introduction of technical innovations.

Comrade Janina Hitnarowicz, master craftsman in the Szczecin Prefabud Enterprise, pointed out that there are everyday problems in this matter, problems that cause builders to have sleepless nights, she said. She also mentioned the numerous bureaucratic hindrances that she meets in the course of her work.

A demand was made to change the atmosphere that had been created around the building industry workers. It was decided that it would be worthwhile [uznano za celowe] to increase the financial contributions paid out by the population for new housing construction by implementing mechanisms that would favor the accumulation of means for this.

In the 13th subject group, in the discussion and the statements included in the minutes, the dominant feature was the concern to ensure financial, cadre, and organizational conditions for the efficient functioning of health protection and for halting the deterioration of the natural environment. It was also postulated that changes should be made in the organization of forestry.

Comrade Antoni Korniak, from Szczecin posed the question: Why is it that the health service operates within an anachronistic and nonaccountable system of budget allocations, whose framework holds up the development of health service projects, and destroys a lot of initiative and all motivation?

Esteemed comrade delegates, the discussion in many groups confirmed the appraisals contained in the report of the Central Committee concerning implementation of the 10th Congress, resolution, and the state of the party, the state, and the economy, as well as the conclusions ensuring from those appraisals. The discussion focused on the search for an answer: How to effectively, efficiently, and adroitly implement the party program after the 10th Congress, and heighten the consistency of work? A great deal of attention was devoted to the party's style of work. The need to win over to the ranks of the party the very best workers, and the need to guarantee the influence of nonparty workers upon the work of individual basic party organizations was pointed out.

Referring to the decisions of the 16th plenum, we assert that not all party organizations and echelons have elaborated forms and methods of work in workers' environments appropriate to the requirements. The hope has been expressed that the addenda and amendments to the statute introduced by the 10th Congress will lead to improved efficiency in drawing up programs, and in accountability and control in the party; to an increase in the efficiency of the work of its links; and to relieving them of red tape and back-and-forth debate.

Problems of the party's cadre policy were broadly taken up during the discussion. We stress that the main premises of the PZPR's cadre policy adopted by the 13th plenum are generally accepted in the party. Attention has been drawn to the question of introduction of those principles into practice. It has been said that the basic party organizations do not always manage to benefit from the rights granted them in that field. Cadre policy cannot be reduced to making and withdrawing recommendations. It ought to include intensive political work with the cadres, and the creation of a cadre reserve, especially of young people.

Discussion of ideological matters and the propaganda work of the party was focused upon answering the question: How to effect meaningful and worthwhile progress in both these fields? In almost every speech dealing with ideological and propaganda work, great stress was placed on the need for close bonds between ideological work and the practice of everyday work, and warnings were given of the danger of this work becoming detached from life and remaining mere words.

Attention has been drawn to progress noted in editing the party press. This positive appraisal is, however, accompanied by criticism of oversimplification, which is still common, and of declamatory tendencies. While the information role of television was positively assessed, at the same time criticism was leveled at shortcomings in the cultural and creative role that it discharges, particularly, in the sphere of the film repertoire.

A typical feature of the discussion was concern for the younger generation and its ideological-political outlook. The efficient implementation of the party program depends upon its being understood and accepted. Winning young people over to the party goals is of special significance. This was said by one of the participants in the discussion during the session of the third team, and this statement can be regarded as the recurrent and chief theme in many speeches relating to young people.

Culture is an area that plays an important role in influencing society ideologically. A socialist state ought to be an effective protector of culture; it ought to shield it from commercialization, from being submerged in kitsch and cheapness. In the view of the comrades who took part in the discussions within the fourth team, this requires bigger subsidies for the development of culture fund. While examining the party's influence on life in society, the participants in the discussions drew attention to the fact that many phenomena that apparently have nothing to do with one another are mutually interconnected. The development of culture constitutes a barrier impeding the spread of social pathology. In turn, an effective opposition to social evils makes for a greater sense of justice and is conducive to the process of identifying oneself with the socialist state and the party.

It is, first and foremost, the members of the party who should implement its policies in each area of society's life. It was emphasized that party members must stand out by the honest and solid way in which they go about their duties, by being fronttrankers at work, by seeing the job at hand through to its completion, by culture in their relations with fellow workers, and by honesty in their lives. Concern for creating precisely such a model of the party member and activist -- and this was frequently emphasized in the discussions -- constitutes one of the main obligations of each primary, works, rural, and ministry party organization.

The effectiveness of the implementation of resolutions we will pass today will depend, above all, upon us ourselves, on our persistence and consistency, on our ability to persuade those who do not belong to any party of the fact that our arguments are correct, on the position party organizations will have within the communities in which we live.

The formula of the party building a national accord -- not just in political areas, but also revolving round social and economic issues -- has been met with acceptance and support. The concept of accord, good work, and economic efficiency, and of putting our house thoroughly in order came to be seen as an important chance for Poland's development.

Comrade delegates, as far as the area of foreign policy is concerned, progress in the process of rebuilding the international position of our state has been emphasized. This position has been gained thanks to the consistent implementation of the Ninth Congress line and as a result of the country's socioeconomic situation having become stabilized. Support was expressed for the concept of the party's foreign policy directions, presented in the Central Committee report and in the draft program.

The idea of a declaration on European security and cooperation was talked about with appreciation. It was pointed out during discussions that the internationalist tie that links the PZPR to the CPSU, and Poland's alliance and fraternal cooperation with the USSR are of fundamental significance for our country, for the socialist community, and for peace in our continent. It is with great satisfaction that the contribution made by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the proceedings of our congress, and the expressions of friendship and appreciation directed towards the Polish people, our party, and its first secretary, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, were emphasized.

The proposal that our party should work towards convening a world conference of workers' parties, devoted to matters that are of supreme importance for, and jointly shared by the entire communist movement -- the peace and security of our globe, our earth -- was met with support.

Esteemed comrades, many teams pointed out the importance of educating society in the patriotic and internationalist spirit. This pertains, in particular, to the awareness of the young generation; it revolves around the issue of inculcating the feeling that it is only socialism that is equal to the challenges of modern times, ensuring the peaceful future and development of our country, socialist Poland. Thank you. [applause]

Czyrek Discusses Program Commission

LD031315 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1013 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Speech by Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Party Program Commission, at the 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The Party Program Commission has submitted to the delegates the amended and enlarged draft of the first long-term PZPR program in the postwar history of the party with the recommendation that it be examined and approved. I think, therefore, that there is no need to present its content at greater length. I will limit myself, therefore, to commenting on the course of the work on the program, and on some of its characteristics and intentions. In accordance with the line and spirit of the Ninth Congress, the draft program did not come about in the quietude of an office. It was born out of a general party discussion, in confrontation with reality and with the living experiences of the party. One can say that in putting their stances down on paper every party organization made a contribution to editing the program, to shaping the concepts on overcoming the results of the economic collapse and accelerating the country's development, and to defining a vision of the future of socialist Poland.

This is of great significance for the further ideopolitical consolidation and activation of party ranks. As we know, over a million people participated in the general party and public discussion, including many nonparty citizens. The profoundly reedited party program presented to the comrade delegates before the congress took this great achievement of the discussion into account.

Our congress debate has enriched it. We can say, therefore, that this will be a program worked out by the whole party, a product of the historical and contemporary experiences and interests of our nation and state. The main sources of ideological inspiration for us were the assumptions of Marxism-Leninism, the experiences of the Polish and international worker movement, and the progressive traditions of our nation. We were striving in the program for a creative linking of the universal principles of socialist construction with national, Polish, conditions for their implementation. The program is, therefore, a synthesis of the theoretical and practical achievements of the party, a long-term concept of the continuation and intensification of socialist renewal. We also tried to utilize the experience of fraternal parties, especially the great achievement of the 27th CPSU Congress, inspiring us in the search for creative and innovatory solutions, to a bold acceptance of the challenges of the present and of the future. The starting point of the program is the fundamental value of our ideology -- the welfare and dignity of man and his subjective role in historical processes.

Out of the fundamental aims and values of socialism the program highlights, in particular, social justice and people's rule. In mapping out ambitious aims and assumptions the party at the same time points in the program to the conditions necessary for achieving them and defines priority tasks for socioeconomic development and directions for enhancing the strength and socialist democratic nature of the state, and modernizing its structures and ways of functioning. The program's intentions include the aspiration for the creative development and deepening of the line of the Ninth Congress aimed at continuing and deepening socialist renewal and accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country. In drafting the program we tried to point to the interdependence of these tasks.

The continuation of the policy of socialist renewal -- the deepening of people's rule and extending the participation of working people in the process of leading and managing -- is one of the conditions for necessary acceleration. And vice-versa. Without the acceleration of the country's development one cannot imagine the full implementation of the provisions of socialist renewal. It is obvious that the conditions for the success of the economic reform depend both on consistent implementation of its assumptions, on improving its mechanisms, and on changing the hitherto extensive way of thinking -- in other words on shaping a modern social awareness.

In formulating the program we were guided by the assumption that socialist development should embody the elements of continuity and change. In other words, it should signify both the continuation of tested laws governing the construction of socialism and a creative approach to our concrete conditions, to new problems and tasks, to the achieved level of socioeconomic development, and to social needs and aspirations. During our work we had to resolve many complex problems and make choices between various proposals. The issue of defining more closely the character and function of the program evoked a great deal of discussion. We adopted the assumption that the program should equip our party with as clear and precise an expression of its strategic aims and of the main roads leading to them as possible, and that subsequent party congresses, starting with the resolution of our 10th Congress, and the central committees elected by them should define more detailed plans and ways of implementing them.

We have tried to avoid voluntarism of any kind, to stand firm on the foundations of realities. We proceeded here from the assumption that we must not be the prisoners of current conditions, which will, after all, undergo changes, that we must use all levers to intensify development. The party's ability to organize the nation's collective effort around the goals outlined will be of key significance in implementing the program. We must be aware of the fact that in presenting the program the PZPR is taking on great commitments to the working class and to the whole of society. The correct definition in the program of the directions of strengthening the leading, and at the same time ancillary, role of the party is all the more important. We stress in the program the decisive role of the working class as the fundamental force of socialist development and the fundamental significance of the worker-peasant alliance. We point out the great and growing role of the alliance of the working class and peasants with the intelligentsia. This will determine the rate of Poland's socioeconomic and civilizational progress.

The program states that it is the party's task to create all the foundations for strengthening this alliance as the basis of national accord, of the creative force of socialist construction, of the introduction of the scientific-technical revolution, of modernizing national education, and of developing and disseminating culture.

Hence, the draft program confirms the steadfast will of the PZPR to broaden and deepen national accord and confirms its determined struggle against the opponents of socialist Poland.

We understand accord to be a constant process, an inalienable foundation of the development of socialist democracy. The right to criticism, public control, and consultation must be an organic element of it. It is a matter of fundamental importance for national accord to make itself manifest in joint action. Our program should fulfill such an integrating function, it should consolidate all patriotic forces of our nation around its implementation.

Esteemed comrades, the draft program affirms forcefully the tried and tested line of Polish foreign policy in serving the nation's most vital interests. We point out at the same time the vital need for a new look at contemporary international relations, taking into account the growing interdependence and links of states and nations; the need for a new way of thinking in the nuclear sphere where the development of weapons of mass destruction threatens the annihilation of human civilization. This requires that the struggle for peace and security and for overcoming imperialist threats be accelerated. The peace program put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress creates for mankind the hope that the world will have a safe future.

In the hope we attach particular attention to the processes currently taking place in the socialist world. The aspiration to accelerate the rate of development and to exploit to this end all the advantages of the socialist socioeconomic system are the dominant undercurrent of these processes. The program points to the fact that Poland must participate in the historic process that will lead the socialist community on to a new and higher stage of development. This is not only a question of our ambitions but also of the position we wish to occupy in our community and in the modern world. The program gives expression to the feeling of the patriotic and internationalist responsibility of the party for the position and role of socialist Poland on the international arena and for its contribution toward the construction of a peaceful future and toward the progressive transformation of the world that despite tremendous threats, has, after all, not stopped being a world of great development opportunities and hopes. Poland resolutely favors freeing Europe and the world of arms of mass destruction; it favors constructive East-West dialogue, jointly tackling and solving the great problems of the present time in conditions of peace, cooperation, and detente.

The draft of the declaration concerning security and cooperation in Europe adopted by the congress team responsible for international affairs is an expression of this stance. I propose on behalf of the team that the contents of this declaration be approved.

Comrades, we are aware that the consistent implementation of the party program should decisively change for the better the quality of life of working people and promote the fuller satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs and the resolution of many problems that have become acute today. We know that this road will be neither easy nor straight. It will require a lot of effort, persistence, and in particular, iron-willed consistency in the implementation of the set goals. The course of the 10th Congress shows that achievement of these goals is possible and that our party is resolved to do everything to keep in step with the requirements of progress and modernity.

As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed in his report the party culls the optimism with which we have come to the congress from its belief in the working class and in the fervent patriotism and creative forces of our nation. The fact that our party has finally drawn up its first long-term program and indicated to society what it is striving for and what sort of Poland it wants to shape might also be a source of optimism. In asking that the submitted draft program be approved the commission would like the authorization of the Politburo for the introduction of the necessary terminological amendments and for the inclusion of those suggestions and proposals that were submitted after the draft was handed to the delegates or that will be submitted during the course of the present session. Thank you. [applause]

Porebski Reports on Resolution

LD031537 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1026 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Speech by Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Party Resolution Commission, at the 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science -- live]

[Text] Comrade delegates! Work on the working draft of the 10th Congress Resolution was begun by us last February and was undertaken by a team of several editors chosen from a team of 90 persons of the Third Congress Commission set up at the 23d Central Committee plenary session. Getting down to work, the editorial team proceeded from the assumption that the main content of the resolution should respond to social needs expressed in the pre-congress discussion and inspired by our party's draft program, the congress theses, and in the earlier national debates which took place before the People's Council elections and before the Sejm elections. We proceeded from the assumption that the resolution must be a specific expression of the tasks falling to the current 5-year period, emerging from the long-term party program and, together with the other documents passed at the 10th Congress, should be the axis of the party and state's socioeconomic life in the next 5 years.

The first version of the working draft of the 10th Congress Resolution was presented to the entire team of the Third Congress Commission at the end of April. The next version was drawn up on the basis of that discussion and the written comments of team members, then presented at a meeting of the Central Congress Politburo in the last 10 days of May. In accordance with its decision, the importantly augmented draft resolution was sent to all 10th Congress delegates at the beginning of June, with the request that proposals, suggestions, and comments on the draft content be sent in. Meetings of voivodship teams of delegates in all voivodships discussed the working draft of the resolution.

As a result, hundreds of comments and proposals for specific entries were brought to the attention of the editorial team. These were taken into account to a considerable extent in the next version.

For example, the proposal for an entry on professional organizations of private farmers, the proposal for a considerable expansion of the entry on the mass media, and many others were used. This course of resolution work is a new phenomenon in party life, for up to now delegations to a party congress acquainted themselves with its draft during the deliberations. Therefore, the statement justified, without exaggeration, that the delegates are the creators of the document. The fact that the present party congress has approved the PZPR program has caused the resolution's different structural precision [odmienne rygory strukturalne] from what took place in previous resolutions at our party congresses. Previous resolutions contained program elements which were long-term, more than 5 years. This one does not have to, because the program contains them.

Since the beginning of the work on the draft resolution, there have been intense disputes over the number of statistics in our document. Some comrades favored including as many as possible, others favored including relatively few. The version presented to you, comrades, on behalf of the congress commission, is a sensible compromise.

The draft resolution directly refers to the achievements of Central Committee plenary sessions between the 9th and 10th Congresses, which on the one hand raised the standing of those plenary sessions and, on the other, contributed to lessening the volume of the draft itself. The working draft, 60 pages long [corrects himself] 66 pages long, was presented to the Congress Resolution Commission on the first day of deliberations. Three days of intensive work on this document considered the Central Committee report delivered by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and the proposals and suggestions from delegates.

The first section of the draft is new in comparison with other congress resolutions. It is entitled: The Most Urgent Social Tasks, and contains the six most important social matters, emerging from both the course of the pre-congress discussion in the People's Council and the Sejm election campaign, and which the party has placed at the center of attention in the current 5-year period, and which it obligates all party cells and the state administration to take up with determination, and to which it appeals to the whole of society to give all-around, universal support.

Let me recall these six important issues. In the first place is the issue of improving the supplies of consumer goods, including foodstuffs, and of abolishing meat and processed meat rationing. In the second place is the issue of achieving progress in solving the housing problem. The third issue concerns effectively curbing inflation and the fourth focuses on providing proper health care and protecting the natural environment. The fifth issue is to do with satisfying the population's growing requirements and spiritual aspirations; that is, further development of education, schooling, and culture. Finally, the sixth issue revolves around the policy of fixing the population's wages, old-age and retirement pay, and other benefits, a policy that reasserts the principles of the socialist social justice.

Naturally, these problems can be fitted into all the remaining chapters.

However, it seems, proper to give them greater prominence in the first chapter since they are the most important issues around which our work and attention will be concentrated. An addendum near the end of the draft resolution makes it incumbent upon the Central Committee to work out and present to the party a detailed plan to implement the 10th Congress Resolution. This plan must be worked out soon as possible and be presented during the second or third Central Committee plenary sessions.

These, then, are the three motions I have been entrusted to present, by the Congress Resolution Commission. I ask the congress to examine pass them if it should see fit to do so. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, on behalf of the Congress Resolution Commission, set up by the 10th Congress pass the resolution in the version presented, taking into account the addenda and amendments supplied to the delegates today;

Second, the commission proposes the 10th Congress authorize the newly elected Politburo to carry out the essential editorial changes prior to making the resolution public. I will not conceal that this is a request for many changes, since the editing the resolution's final version, the haste with which it has been done, and this, after all was unavoidable, have, linguistically speaking, resulted in the resolution containing quite a number of thoughts which have not been formulated in the best possible style, from the language point of view; and

Third, the commission proposes in view of the thrust of the draft resolution, the thrust we would wish to keep intact, all detailed motions, of which there have been many, as well as the detailed conclusions from the plenary discussion and from the discussion that took place within the congress teams, should be forwarded for detailed examination by the party Central Committee.

It is also proposed that the 10th Congress should make it incumbent upon the newly elected Central Committee to make use of them during the process of working out the plan for the implementation of the 10th Congress Resolution.

Delegates Discuss, Adopt Resolution

LD031506 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1036 GMT 3 Jul 86

[From the 10th PZPR Congress session in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science -- live relay]

[Text] [Drozdzziel] Comrades, my name is Kazimierz Drozdzziel. I am a worker at the Komuna Parys shipyard in Gdynia. During this congress, our delegation has several times moved an amendment to the resolution on the national economy. Unfortunately, however, we have failed to encounter understanding by certain comrades who are members of the government. This is why I have taken the liberty of asking the 10th Congress delegates for help. The whole point is that one additional sentence should be fitted on page 31.

It is as follows: Conditions must be ensured for effective and maximum use of the shipbuilding industry's production potential. This is it. We simply want to work. Thank you. [applause]

[Session Chairman Barcikowski] Any other comrades? Please go ahead.

[Kryzysztofiak] I am Miroslaw Krzysztofiak, my mandate number is 250. I could say three time lucky. I have already moved this proposal twice, to no avail, and yet it seems to me to be of no small importance. On page 24, line one reads: In all branches of the national economy, support will be given to the setting up of various forms of small plants pioneering production of new output and the introduction of modern technological processes. I move that this sentence be struck out.

In keeping with the essence of the reform, in keeping with the creation of the conditions where all enterprises should concern themselves with this, with new output and new technological processes, this sentence, as it were creates a certain loophole. We have recently had a costly experience. Surrounded by an ineffective economy, we wanted, through the so-called large-scale economic organizations, to promote progress. The economy must be effective as a whole; it must concern itself with the problems tackled in that sentence. Thank you. [applause]

[Barcikowski] Would any other comrade like to have his say? We will ask Comrade Porebski to let us know his attitude to these motions.

[Porebski] Esteemed comrades! Since, as was obvious in my introduction, I have participated for these last 4 months in preparation of the draft law, I have to say our coastal region comrades, to put it in as few words as possible, bombarded us with numerous texts which we tried, much as possible, to change to satisfy our comrades. It would be unjust to bear us a grudge for this -- for such is our role that when we represent some milieu we should fight for it -- there is nothing wrong with that.

Proposals went much further than that. Even yesterday we discussed the subject during the commission's debates. To avoid stretching things out for too long here, I propose a motion, whose contents I have partially jotted down, on the maximum effective use of potential, be adopted because it agrees with our provisions regarding the economy. [applause]

As far as the small pilot enterprises are concerned, comrades, well, I wouldn't want to speak too long here -- this is a motion put forward by NOT [chief technical Organization]; if I remember correctly, and other organizations concerned with the economy, but this is a problem one can discuss. However, as a technician, as an engineer, I say one efficient solution that would aid scientific and technological progress is the existence and the expansion of such pilot enterprises, which are efficient -- in the sense that they do not involve us in any extra costs. There are also other solutions -- this is not the only one. If we, and here I would ask you to grant me your confidence, if we wish to stop talking about scientific and technological progress and start introducing it -- then I, for one, am sure this is one from among the possible, effective solutions. I put forward the motion to retain this provision.

[Barcikowski] Are there any further comments? I see none. I therefore propose to put to the vote...I put to the vote the draft resolution with the amendments set forth and accepted by Comrade Porebski. Who favors adopting the resolution in this form? Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare the resolution of the 10th Congress unanimously adopted. [applause]

The comrade delegates have received the text of the draft declaration of the 10th Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Have the comrades any comments on the draft tabled? I see none. We shall proceed to the voting. Who among the comrade delegates favors adoption of the declaration in its proposed forms? Thank you. Who is opposed? None. Who abstains? None. I declare the declaration of the 10th Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe unanimously adopted [applause]

Barcikowski Presents Appeals Reports

LD031514 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1044 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Report of PZPR Appeals Commission read by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] The 10th Congress Appeals Commission started work at its first meeting. The commission members acquainted themselves with appeals coming in to the 10th Congress, decided on the course and rules of work, and divided up tasks. A 10-man presidium of the Appeals Commission was chosen, comprising two chairmen in the persons of Comrade Henryk Jablonski and Comrade Tadeusz Nfowicki, and six regional teams, to examine appeals from individual voivodships. The commission assures that decision will be made in accordance with the statute and resolutions of the 10th Congress and with proper objectivity. With this in view, it will enable those submitting an appeal to present their arguments to commission members in a direct conversation and will obtain opinions about the interested parties in their own party organization and at their work place. Because of the considerable number of appeals, individual cases will be examined in succession and each person making an appeal will receive a written reply. Up to 3 July of this, up to the 10th Congress, a total of 383 appeals were received. Of these, 162 people are appealing against expulsion from the party; 41 against being crossed off the list of party members; 46 against party penalties; 92 people have asked for party training periods to be credited. In addition, 28 people have sent in accusations and complaints to the 10th Congress about various spheres of socioeconomic life or personal matters. That is the wording of the communique. Does any comrade want to speak in the wake of this report. [pause] I don't see anyone. So we approve the report. Of course, the commission will submit a report on its work to the next congress.

Messages to Congress Explained

LD031455 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1047 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Speech by Woldzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at the 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science -- live]

[Text] Esteemed delegates: During the congress 2,196 letters and telegrams with greetings and wishes for the delegates and for the party leadership reached the congress Secretariat.

Those who sent the letters and telegrams included party factory committees and organizations, workers collectives from factories inside and outside Poland, PRON links, youth organizations, trade unions, Polish People's Army units including soldiers doing their military duty outside the country, veterans associations, creative unions, and socioprofessional associations. We also received 378 letters and telegrams from private persons. Greetings for the congress also came in from young people still at school and from scouts. In the telegrams the work forces of many factories reported that they were following the congress discussions with attention and that through their work they were expressing support for the policy line of the 10th Congress. The letters and telegrams pointed to the exceptionally responsible work done by the Central Committee in the difficult and complex internal and external conditions between the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and the 10th Congress. Words of particular acknowledgement were directed to Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee.

The letters and telegrams stressed that the Central Committee report made a broad impression in Polish society among party and nonparty people. It was stressed that it reflected all the fundamental problems worrying society and that it expressed profound concern for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, for strengthening law and order and discipline in the economy, and for consistently introducing economic reform. Attention was drawn to the fact that the report presented in a worthy and principled manner the main directions of Polish foreign policy. The consistency of their implementation was stressed with particular emphasis and the important role and significance of our alliances, in particular the fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union, were pointed out. Those writing letters and telegrams expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Soviet delegation to the 10th PZPR Congress was led by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Many of the telegrams referred to his speech while at the same time requesting that the most cordial greetings and thanks be conveyed for the direct and fraternal words addressed to our party and Polish nation. At the same time, full approval for the peaceful initiatives presented on behalf of the Soviet Union by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev was expressed.

The congress has received 362 reports about production pledges having been fulfilled and 223 reports that tasks undertaken within the framework of voluntary public work were carried out. One result of these production pledges and public work is the fact that, among other things, thousands of additional metric tons of coal have been extracted, thousands of additional metric tons of steel have been smelted, numerous additional consumer durables and foodstuffs have been produced, and thousands of additional metric tons of raw and other materials have been saved. New public facilities and amenities have been built, including sport, recreation, and leisure centers. Hundreds of local roads have been modernized. There were 112 telegrams about the fact that shock labor shifts were introduced for the duration of the congress. Apart from the party organizations, trade union and youth organization branches initiated this upsurge in public involvement. Individual farmers, state agricultural farm and production cooperative work forces have also reported that they fulfilled many production pledges and voluntary work tasks. In many telegrams the congress Presidium was informed that during the congress primary party organizations organized open party meetings devoted to discussing the subject matter of the debates. New party candidates have been admitted during many such meetings.

A total of 188 persons have also come directly to the 10th Congress Secretariat. They came to us with their personal matters and problems. Most of them did not belong to any party. Speaking of what worried them, they expressed hope that the resolutions to be passed by the 10th Congress would make for a speedier solution to the country's many social and economic problems of pressing importance.

In all letters and telegrams, apart from the messages of greetings to the congress, the hopes and expectations of the public and support for the party's program and its political line were expressed. Allow me, on behalf of us all, to thank the senders for their kind attitude to, and interest in, the deliberations of our congress. [applause]

Jaruzelski Makes Closing Speech

LD031825 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1720 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the closing session of the 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. Dear guests. I apologize for the delay, but democratic procedure takes up a great deal of time. We also carried out our duty of political culture by talks with, and expressing thanks for their previous selfless work, to those comrades who are ceasing to perform their duties in party leadership. It was also necessary to hold the necessary consultations and talks with those comrades whom we have proposed to join the ranks of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The 10th PZPR Congress is coming to a close. In the plenary discussion, and in the working teams, the representatives of all voivodships, social milieux and professional groups, of all generations creating a generation-based unity and continuity of our party, rose to speak. In final stage of our work we dealt with organizational matters, the results of which I would like to present to you now comrade delegates.

The Central Committee elected the following comrades to membership of the Politburo: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Baryla, Jozef Czyrek, Jan Glowczyk, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Zbigniew Messner, Alfred Miodowicz, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyzszak, Zygmunt Muranski, Marian Orzechowski, Tadeusz Porebski, Florian Siwicki, Zofia Stepien, and Marian Wofzniak.

The following were elected candidate members of the Politburo: Stanislaw Bejger, Bogumil Ferensztajn, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Zbigniew Michalek, and Garbiela Rembisz.

The following were elected as Central Committee secretaries: Jozef Baryla, Henryk Bednarski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypryniak, Jozef Czyrek, Jan Glowczyk, Zbigniew Michalek, Tadeusz Porebski, Andrzej Wasilewski, and Marian Wozniak.

The central authorities of the Central Control and Audit Commission were also elected. Its elected chairman is Wlodzimierz Mokrzyzszak, and the deputy chairmen are: Tadeusz Hupalowski, Bogumil Moraczewski, Tadeusz Nowicki, and Jerzy Wilk.

This is the composition of the highest party bodies which was just decided a moment ago. [applause]

Comrades and dear guests, representatives of all voivodships, social milieux, and professional groups, as well as all generations which constitute the unity of generations and continuity of our party, participated in the plenary discussion, as well as in team discussions.

The speeches were open, matter-of-fact, and sincere. Satisfaction with accomplishments was combined with an awareness of the extent of tasks. The principle: "Let us never forget about the past, and always think about the future" has been confirmed. The congress was a working, creative, and critical debate. Criticism is no longer a guest in our party. It is an ever present family member. Adherence to principles is indispensable so the party can act in a combative and effective manner. Deliberations consisted of many subjects, universal and complex, as is our life, as is present day reality in Poland. The enormity of the material, the feeling of responsibility for its serious treatment does not allow an immediate and direct generalization about the discussion.

The Central Committee, Politburo, and Central Committee Secretariat consider it their primary duty to summarize this variety of party thinking quickly and process it into a concrete plan of implementation at the appropriate levels of party, state, and social activity.

The achievements of the pre-congress and congress debate will not remain without penetrating consideration, without a concrete reply. Normal life continued throughout the whole country during the days of the congress. We were an active fragment of it. We think with gratitude of all those who were with us. For a long time now, there have not been so many manifestations of lively interest in the work of our party, so many manifestations of support shown for it. We should value them the more as they arose in new circumstances, not on the basis of loudly proclaimed declarations and obligations, but in a natural and authentic way. Numerous reports have flowed in about social and production deeds. Many enterprises have reported about the early fulfillment of their tasks for June, the second quarter, and the first 6 months. With the active participation of youth, congress honor guards [zjazdowe warty] were mounted. Basic party organizations [POP] accepted many new candidates these past days. Thousands of letters and telegrams were directed to the Congress with good wishes and expressions of readiness for the implementation of party resolutions. Without whole hearts, we say thanks for this support and encouragement expressed by what counts most: initiative, work, concrete acts. [applause]

The attention with which our deliberations were heard, the hopes associated with the congress, are above all a great obligation for our party. Practice will determine its fulfillment. Not words, but facts will take the yet unsolved problems, discussed so intently from the congress platform, off the agenda.

Changes announced by the congress will not occur immediately. Nothing will occur on its own. It will be decided by the persistence with which we will implement the decisions adopted. If we achieve that which results from a realistic assessment of our reserves and strengths, things will be better for working people. Socialism will be strengthened in Poland. [applause]

We do not have illusions we will not continue to be in the line of fire of external and domestic opponents. Already, we hear their falsifying, grating accompaniment. But after all, they have been hindering us not just from today or yesterday. Contrary to their expectations, this strengthens our resistance. By sharply and decisively opposing those who want to do harm and complain, [jatrzyco] we open up a new opportunity for all those who want to join in work for the good and future of socialist Poland. Certainly there are also those who think that it happened and has now passed; the congress and after the congress; words were spoken and noted down, but life will go its own way anyway. Decisions may be waited through. [as heard] This is true. More than once, they were waited through and afterward, they awaited the well-known consequences. This time this will not occur. It cannot be so. [applause]

In the speeches, particularly in those of our female comrades, we heard how many difficulties, burdens, troubles, of various types there are. Their causes are multifarious. We perceive them. They are however, justified a bit too often and too easily from various tribunes as apparently objective, not dependent on us.

On the other hand achievements are on the whole subjective and personal. We therefore must put all the more effort into rooting out a generalized approach to shortcomings, to mistakes; [we must] speak more specifically, naming names. Unfortunately, there is still a great deal of anonymity in assessments. Even our fundamental congress, which had a specific purpose, did not entirely break through this barrier. A party member has no right to say: This does not concern me, either when he sees that things are going badly or when he should be supporting a just initiative, taking advantage of all chances and possibilities.

The party will gain more supporters and a better understanding if it consistently clears life of all superfluity, all nonsense, and various forms of transgressions of social justice. Particularly where there are party members, there can be no place for deviations. From the very midst of life, you have brought, comrades, the truth about how many there are among us who are worthy of the highest respect, who are examples of diligence, of devotion, of modesty. These examples dominate; and next to them how many others are there?

Forgive me for using drastic descriptions of waste, of parasitism, of callousness and rottenness, which make the blood boil.

This is an example of so-called Poland A and Poland B. It is the will of the party that the better one, of which we are proud, which is linked to the best traditions of the party and the nation, should be totally victorious, that all that blemishes the good name of socialism and the dignity of our nation should be thrown overboard. We appeal to all members of the party. You granted us the mandate for this congress. The program, the resolution, and other decisions adopted today are our joint cause. They are at the same time a firm obligation for the implementation of its decisions. The congress is closing one stage and opening up another. To maintain its ideological climate and political temperature for as long as possible and to transfer them to Polish households, this is our party's ambition and task. To promote progress, the party must become an example of modernity and efficiency and of being capable of objective self-assessment. Firmly establishing the meaning of the words the same party but not the same party constitute the achievement of the 10th Congress.

Our deliberations and the adopted resolutions have left no doubt about the following: renewal or stagnation, reform or ossification, democracy or autocracy, openness or the pulping up [papkowanie] of information, consultations or arbitrary decisions, the strengthening of the rule of law or acquiescence to the violation of socialist rules and norms. These questions have been definitely and irrevocably resolved. In each of these matters the 10th Congress has put the proverbial dot on the 'i' [applause]

Now the most important thing is for the choice to be made unanimously to find full affirmation in every ministerial department and voivodship, town and parish, in every workplace and institution.

Comrades, the first program in our party's history was adopted today: [It is] a creative expounding of Marxist-Leninist thinking, a signpost for the process of building and strengthening socialism in Poland. The years ahead of us must bring fundamental progress along that road.

In this sense, the congress has laid the path into the 21st century; but at the same time kept its feet firmly on the ground, close to the realities of the situation. To link the boldness of long-term plans with a profound sense of reality, with appreciation of the small facts from which great things often are born, those are Leninist instructions.

The tasks for the next 5-year stretch of our road toward a higher phase of socialist transformations have been specified by the congress resolution. In all caution, an alternative was posited: quicker or slower? Quicker to bring economic equilibrium closer; what is more, assets for social purposes, better food for the nation, a healthy market, meeting housing needs, and a determined implementation of tasks in the field of education, health protection, and environmental protection.

It is therefore going half-way to meet the hopes for systematic, measurable progress in working conditions and in society's living conditions. Quicker: That means energetically joining in the technological race, making better use of the great intellectual potential of our society [instituting] a boldly thought-out modernization of the economy.

We favor that kind of acceleration. We will submit its conditions and forms for public consultation. Faster pace is a party proposal addressed to management personnel and workforces, to all working, truly patriotic Poles. Acceleration in development is not just physical objects, indicators, and economic concepts. A universal orientation toward effectiveness in economy, science, technology, education, and culture will be quicker if it is supported with the necessary transformations in social awareness, in the way people think, and in their attitudes. Progress depends above all on organically linking personal motivations and individual ethics of work to modern equipment for achieving it, and to a well-organized, functional, and rationally-managed economic system. That is the plane on which the battle for the future will be decided. System solutions will be used to release the most important, social, human reserves: The first will be consistent implementation of the economic reform and entering its second, enhanced, stage. The second will be the universal review -- rationalization of organizational structures. The third will be optimal personnel management.

Every one of us must promote the organizational and structural reconstruction. It is a duty of the party echelons and organizations. We are counting on the issue of functionality, clear definition of tasks, proper deployment of people, and full use of their potential in the process of work finding millions of supporters. We must reach a situation where in every way there are as many and such people as necessary; where there are no overlapping powers; where there is no official, formal justification for apparent work and for idle acts; and where progress is served by every single day, every single work station, and every single man operating it.

I am glad that I can add the Karol Swierczewski Precision Products Factory to the good examples given in the Central Committee report. The mutual workers' conversation with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev was a great satisfaction. The work brigades to which they belong are a great cause. They teach comanagement, concern for a high quality production; they shape a feeling of collectivism, they favor effectiveness. However, too few brigades and partnership groups exist in our country. They should grow as soon as possible everywhere the technological conditions for this exist. Resistance to this manifested among some leadership cadres should be decisively overcome. The party obliges all enterprise committees, all its members in managements, and self-managements to decidedly support this initiative.

The pregress and congress discussion gave testimony to the universal call for the programmatic, organizational, and cadre side of all activities to create a chance for people to show what they can do, to ensure their energy and knowledge do not get bogged down in the labyrinth of inertia, paper jungle, or bureaucratic world of appearances. The harmonious linking of the experience of the older generation with the enthusiasm of youth is indispensable. We will create even better perspectives for them. This does not, however, have anything to do with spoiling them or nursing them. Our obligation is to create conditions for youth to mature more quickly, to show bolder initiative and solve more difficult tasks; to effectively eliminate whatever slows progress, which does not correspond to the principles of our system. Comrades! The achievement of the 10th Congress fully confirms the Polish People's Republic finds itself in the great developmental current of socialism. Its far-reaching prospects were mapped out best by the historical 27th Congress of the party of Lenin, the CPSU. The peaceful and humanitarian goals of socialism along with the importance of our comprehensive fraternal cooperation were stressed with full emphasis from this tribune by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. His visit to Poland and participation in our deliberations greatly enriched these congress days. Comrade Gorbachev won over everyone with his sincerity and feelings of respect and friendship toward the working class, working people, and the whole of our nation. [applause]

This fruitful visit constitutes another helpful step along the road of unity and fraternity with a great socialist power, the Land of the Soviets. Polish-Soviet friendship and lasting cooperation based on alliance are the priceless historical gain of our nations. [applause]

People's Poland is and will be a reliable link in the socialist community and a strong and active part of the world forces of progress and peace. The numerous delegations which arrived for our congress of fraternal parties, of the socialist countries, of the communist and workers' parties and also revolutionary-democratic parties of national liberation movements and socialist and socio-democratic parties conveyed to us expressions of solidarity. We reciprocate them with full sincerity. [applause]

Our guests are not only seated in the deliberations hall but also participated in many meetings with the working people of our country. They had the opportunity to see for themselves the internationalism of the Polish working class and of the working people of our nation. We thank you warmly, dear guests, for the expressions of respect and support for socialist Poland. [applause]

An important place in the congress deliberations was occupied by international problems, matters of peace and security. Today, it is not enough to live, to have a guarantee of life. Poland comes out firmly in favor of halting the arms race and going over to disarmament; of mutually beneficial cooperation among nations on an equal basis. We have a special moral right and duty, from here, from heroic Warsaw, to call on you yet again to defend and strengthen peace, detente, and dialogue. This has found eloquent expression in the declaration on security and cooperation in Europe adopted by the congress.

In the struggle for a new, just profile of international relations, our party and the socialist state will not stand still. [applause]

Comrade delegates, the congress has elected new party authorities. Permit me, on their behalf, to thank you warmly for the confidence you have in us. We consider it a duty to implement uncompromisingly what has been decided, and at the same time, the authority to make greater demands and stricter assessments.

This is a Central Committee with a strong worker-peasant class backbone. Together with the participation of experienced activists and eminent specialists in various fields, it should guarantee a close bond with the working class; with the whole of society; a competent and honest solving of problems. Some comrades have ended their activity in the Central Committee, on the central party authorities. Under the most difficult conditions, requiring a special wisdom, courage, and toughness, they created the achievements of the past term of office. We thank you for that sincerely, dear comrades. [applause]

We are still counting on your advice, help, and devoted actions, as always. The newly elected authorities will be faithful to the principle; start with ourselves, the higher the post, the greater responsibility, the greater the effort in service to the party, the working class, and the nation. [applause]

I shall repeat what we said in the report: there can be no people or institutions beyond control, assessment, and criticism. The Central Committee will take care that its own style of acting, and that of the party as a whole and all its bodies, be shaped in such spirit. In the process of improving the quality and effectiveness of party work, we are counting on you comrade, delegates. The Central Committee is deeply convinced that the mandate that is valid for a whole term of office will be confirmed with efforts so the ideas of the 10th Congress become a material power, reach the widest possible circles of citizens, stimulate imagination, and set initiative in motion.

I emphasize the contribution of those whose work particularly contributed to the favorable course of the congress, the contribution of the commissions, and teams. Our appreciative words have been earned by all organizing and technical services, as well as comrade printers. Thanks to their effort, the congress proceedings were so efficient.

Thank you to employees of the press, radio, and television for the complete, matter-of-fact, and comprehensive briefing of society about the course of the congress. We count on journalists and the whole propaganda front to disseminate the ideas of the highest party forum in a creative and combative manner and at a high standard of both form and content.

Esteemed comrades, soon we will be able to speak of the 10th Congress in the past tense. However, we will do everything to ensure that it will continue in future actions, that it may be present in every term of office commencing from the last few days. Let the realism, creative atmosphere, and inquisitiveness that characterized the congress proceedings unceasingly accompany the party's work. We call out: More democracy, more discipline, more consistency. [applause]

The basis of principles, the synthesis of that which we are taking out from the 10th Congress is the requirement of efficiency. It is precisely through this that verification of the quality of our work will occur. The national delegates' conference, which we must already think about, will be an important stage in this, and, starting today, we must also work intensively to come to the 11th PZPR congress with our heads held high. We commenced the proceedings on a free day, on a Sunday. Let this be yet another call whereby we do not excessively burden work time through our party and social activity. That is also why tomorrow none of us should be missing from our professional posts.

The summer season is beginning. We cannot allow standstills and breaks in active work. Let us remember that not much time remains until the accountability and election campaign.

Its most important aim is to translate the resolutions of the congress into the language of concrete tasks in all party echelons and organizations, in all milieux, for all basic organizations and, above all, the worker crews. As was said -- among other things, during the proceedings of the first team -- we must return to the 16th plenum; we must put into practice all of its pro-worker resolutions, consistently and to the end.

With this thought in mind, fulfilling the intentions of the congress, this coming Tuesday, [8 July] instead of having a Politburo meeting we, its members, will go to meetings in factories, at places of work. The significance of our proceedings will be assessed by history. But history is created by people. It was stressed from this tribune that to the dialectic continuity of socialist renewal we must now add the line of socialist consistency, executive efficiency and discipline. If we are a match for this then we will be instrumental in making sure that history will issue a good and worthy report on this event, which we created together in this hall. Deeds and accomplished facts will decide this. May there be as many as them as possible. [applause]

Dear comrade delegates, it is only in this way that we will confirm and fulfill the slogan visible above this hall: In guiding the nation the party is serving the nation. [applause] I declare the 10th PZPR Congress closed. [applause; "International"; national anthem]

Press Conference Held

LD041157 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] Good day from the Hall of Columns at the Office of the Council of Ministers. A meeting of representatives of the highest party authorities, including the authorities elected yesterday on the last day of the 10th Congress, with journalists started some minutes ago. The conference is being conducted by Jerzy Majka, TRYBUNA LUDU chief editor, and the congress press spokesman, and Maciej Gorski from INTERPRESS. Among the people present are: Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee; Premier Zbigniew Messner, Politburo member; and Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypryński, and Andrzej Wasilewski, Central Committee secretaries. In an introductory speech Wojciech Jaruzelski briefed the audience on the main trends of the 10th Congress; the congress endorsing the line of accord, struggle, and reforms; and on a firm and consistent stance by Poland and Polish Communists in their struggle for peace and a better and safer future for the world. Then the questioning began. The first question was asked by Pavel Kopecky from Czechoslovakia who raised the subject of the foreign delegations' contribution to the congress. Later, (Ralph Stevenssen), a Swedish Television correspondent, asked whether General Jaruzelski was satisfied with what he has done so far.

Leaders Answer Questions

LD041949 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Jul 86

["Part one" of press conference held in the Council of Ministers' office in Warsaw on 4 July devoted to the results of the 10th PZPR Congress, given by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Zbigniew Messner, and PZPR Central Committee secretaries Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypryński and Andrzej Wasilewski -- recorded]

[Text] [Jaruzelski] I am pleased to have the opportunity to meet so wide and representative a group of press, radio, and television representatives from many countries.

I think that this wide representation also strongly testifies to the interest in the deliberations and results of the 10th Congress. I take this opportunity to express thanks to all of you ladies and gentlemen who objectively and extensively reported on the congress' deliberations. At the same time, I consider this meeting as a form of compensation to those of you, ladies and gentlemen, who asked for personal interviews for the press, radio, and television. For obvious reasons I cannot meet all these demands, but I think that today's meeting will be able to meet our joint demands.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think you undoubtedly have acquainted yourself with congress materials; with the Central Committee report, which I had the honor of delivering; and with the report by Comrade Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is present here. Thus, summarizing these documents would be inappropriate, as well as summarizing the congress' deliberations as a whole. I only think that one has to resolutely underscore that the congress was an important event in the life not only of our party but the whole country, that it had and still has strong resonance abroad, and that it confirmed the policy of socialist renewal adopted by the Ninth Congress, while at the same time raising it to a higher level in accordance with emerging conditions and needs, and stress what we consider as particularly important, that is, the consistency of the implementation and efficiency of our activity, which so far -- and this is not a secret -- has not been a strong point.

I also wish to emphasize the consistency in the fulfillment of the line of accord and struggle, and consistency in the fulfillment of the reform, which we are proclaiming as a second stage, anticipating its greater efficiency and consistency. A very important novelty and a very serious operation -- if one is allowed to call it that -- is the review of the structures and organisms of our state, in the wider sense of the word, connected to an attestation in work places and also connected to various forms of personnel reviews.

I regard those accents concerned with international affairs as very important. I think that the clear confirmation -- here, from Warsaw, from our congress -- of the PPR's peace policy and the emphasis on the permanence of our initiatives is also support for those initiatives to which we attach great importance, here I am thinking of the Soviet initiatives. Personally, the initiatives presented by Mikhail Gorbachev came as no surprise to anyone. His presence at the congress and the presence of the Soviet delegation gave these proceedings and the events accompanying them a specific tone. We are very happy with the course of this visit. It emphasized the steadfastness of our friendly relations, and it emphasized Poland's status in Soviet politics -- the esteem and recognition for our party, the working class, and the Polish nation. We value this very highly.

I think the participation of 107 foreign delegations, representing a very wide range of political trends, is worth noting. This testifies to the fact that Poland cannot be isolated, that it has many friends, and that many of these friends have our country's direction of development and politics, which we are striving to fulfill within the limits of our strengths and capabilities. [as heard]

In a word, this was a congress that in some sense sums up and closes a stage in the life of our country -- the stage of normalization, the stage of consolidation. At the same time, it opens a new stage in which these efforts will have to be continued. However, very numerous difficulties will have to be overcome.

We are far from being triumphant. We are conscious of many hinderances, many problems whose solution will demand a lot of time and effort. We would like to attain understanding from all of our partners in this respect, and I wish, through mediation of the press, radio, and television, to assure that in matters of the strengthening of peace, dialogue, and international cooperation, Poland can be relied on always. I would be very happy if our meeting today contributes to better mutual understanding. We will try, as much as we are able, to come up to your expectations associated with this conference. Please present your questions.

[Kevin Ruane, BBC, in English, fading into Polish translation] Mr General the party statute states that the high post of the first secretary can be held by one person for a maximum of two terms. I wish to know how you treat your current election as first secretary: as the beginning of a second term or perhaps, as a third since you became first secretary in October 1981? I would also like to know if you would be satisfied with a successive election as first secretary at the next congress? And, generally, what do you think about this: Is it right that one person should hold a high function for many, many years?

[Jaruzelski] I will reply beginning with the final part of your question. The congress, the 10th Congress -- and the Ninth Congress of our party, above all -- clearly specified the attitude toward this matter, introducing terms of office [kadencyjnosc] in the holding of these precise offices. We maintained this and we will consistently implement this. My personal intentions do not reach into a future that I would specify myself. It will be specified by the party, it will be specified by people who have put their faith in me at this moment and whose trust I do not wish to let down. As I said when taking on the office of premier in that exceptionally difficult time in our history: I will lay it down at any time when it becomes possible and when the high Sejm recognizes it as purposeful. So it happened. I think I will behave consistently in this case also. But, it is not up to me to specify when this will occur.

[Zygmunt Slomkowski, TRYBUNA LUDU] The 10th Congress laid a particularly strong emphasis on the implementation of the program and the resolution. Is there no risk that, even with the best of intentions, the attitude, which could be described as no discussion, no being clever, and no criticism, just implementation, will gain prominence in the party? In line with this, will this implementational course not become a pretext for practices which could be described as more normalization and less democracy? Another question. This is connected with a statement in the plenary discussion by one of the comrades from Lodz, who used the following wording: Those who give more to the enterprise are entitled to demand more of the enterprise, and not just in zlotys. We know this is a more widespread position, but at times it is treated as a demanding stance, colliding with the realities and functions of the enterprise under the reform. Is it not possible for narrow economic and managerial tendencies, which represent a threat to the implementation of the letter and the spirit of the 10th Congress, to slip in this way, under the cover of the catchword of efficiency?

[Jaruzelski] These are very important questions and we could combine the answer to them. First of all, I interpret them as a warning. I am grateful for that since, presumably, the emphasis that we made, that I made in the closing speech might suggest predominance of the implementational, managerial factor over the democratic factor, the self-management factor, the public factor. I would like to declare most emphatically that absolute balance between these two factors has to be maintained, that decisions can only be consistently and effectively implemented, executed if they are born thorough democratic procedures, if they win the support of the public, of the work force at the enterprise.

That is why we attach such great weight to the work of self-managements. Self-managements are and will remain permanent phenomenon in our conditions and in our economy.

That is why we have laid such emphasis on establishing the team system. This is a particular form of democratic relations and of comanaging in the enterprise by employees collectives, workers in particular, which bear the responsibility and decide on the way to execute these tasks. There would have been nothing more misleading than breaking the balance here. The stress on the implementation, as I have said, arises from the fact that today we have created a very wide structure of democratic and self-managing activity. We have also made many correct decisions, as I can state with satisfaction. The Western press treats decisions as such, resolutions as such, and laws as such — at the worst, with indifference. I pay no heed. However, the implementation aspect is our weakness; here we want to lay emphasis. But, using a facetious expression by Boy, our outstanding writer and a humanist: One has to have both hands and legs; nothing must be distorted.

[Oleg Losoto, PRAVDA, in Russian, fading into superimposed Polish translation] At the 10th Congress, concluding yesterday, an extensive exchange of views took place on matters of the party and Poland. Which of the issues would you put at the forefront?

[Jaruzelski] At the forefront should be that which is fundamental for a communist, workers' party — namely, the confidence in and the bond with the working class and the nation. We know that in this domain, in this field we suffered great losses. I will not characterize the matter further; it is known and was many times critically and self-critically discussed by us. We have made a giant step on the way to rebuilding confidence and bonds; all of our activities and policy must continue to be subordinate to their consolidation. All we are doing in the areas of social life and social morale has to serve this goal. I think this is the main issue.

[Klaus Branke, Radio GDR, in Polish] What, according to your point of view, are the trump cards for achieving the expected acceleration of socioeconomic development?

[Jaruzelski] Perhaps, in a slightly hackneyed way, one might say in agitational fashion, that I think the Poles themselves are the greatest chance — our nation; the working class and its avant-garde, the party; and the masses of superbly prepared and highly qualified people. People's Poland has at the moment 1 and 1/2 million people with higher education, among them are many outstanding specialists with international reputations. We are a young society; a young generation is coming to power and is taking on more and more responsible functions, which, thanks to the 10th Congress, has gained — this we desire, and I think that this will occur — new, great impulses for action, for overcoming all that halts today's progress and development. Therefore, man is our biggest chance, that and the full use of his capabilities — and one must say openly that, so far, we were not always able to ensure this happened. A major conclusion of the 10th Congress is to assure that this great human moral and intellectual potential is activated, pushing forward at full speed toward the great work of the development of socialist Poland.

[Andrzej Siezieniewski, Polish Radio and Television] Comrade General, in your closing speech yesterday you said that one of the achievements of the 10th Congress was to have strengthened the sense of the words: The same party, but different. To what extent does this phrasing convey the substance of the transformations that have taken place in the party over the last few years; are there still areas that need improvement?

[Jaruzelski] I will begin with the last part of the question. It seems to me that there are no walks of life that do not require improvement. Similarly, in the work of our party there are many such areas; we spoke of them at length in the congress. The very criticism of both the reports and the discussions confirms this. In fact, it answers that part of your question.

We would probably have to use up too much time to present and describe all those factors that today allow us to say with complete responsibility that the party is the same but different. Not many observers of your Polish life -- and not just domestic observers or those from the friendly countries, but also those from countries with which we do not maintain friendly relations -- irrespective of their point of view -- to which they are entitled -- could deny that the situation in Poland, the situation in the party and its methods of work have changed in a fundamental manner as compared to those in the seventies and before. We want to strengthen this trend and -- here we go back to the early part of the answer -- to improve them. We do not regard the state that we have achieved as perfect. There are still various nooks and crannies, if I may say so, where the light of renewal has not reached; we must persistently overcome these.

[Matthew Vita, ASSOCIATED PRESS, in English, with superimposed Polish translation] In the preelection campaign, in press articles, and in the declarations of journalists we observed a certain intensification of the reproaches and accusations voiced in relation to the United States. However, in your speech during the congress there were, in principle, no overtones like this. It could rather be said that we perceived a conciliatory tone. Maybe we can expect a continuation of this tone. In line with this, I have two, more specific questions. In your opinion, can we expect improvements in Polish-U.S. relations during the term of the Reagan government? We know Poland is putting forward demands in relation to the United States as regards economic sanctions and the propaganda campaign directed against your country, led by the U.S. Government. Therefore, in connection with what I said earlier about the conciliatory tone, is Poland ready to make some conciliatory gesture toward the United States that could accelerate an improvement in these mutual relations?

[Jaruzelski] It is perhaps inappropriate to compare these or other declarations in concrete matters contained in our publications, in the statements of representatives of these or other elements of authority, which constituted a reaction to specific moves by the U.S. Government, including the recent speech by the President, by Vice President Bush, and many other, very unfriendly factors in relation to Poland, to which we gave and will continue to give answers. This accords with our sense of honor and responsibility. On the other hand, the report outlined a wider panorama, transcending these -- let us call them incidental manifestations and facts -- and expressing, on the one hand, great pain that Polish-U.S. relations continue to be in a state of impasse, and on the other, frequent readiness to improve these relations. This improvement may be achieved only on the basis of the recognition of our sovereign rights, the recognition of our methods of solving internal problems.

You speak about a gesture. You speak about some step from the Polish side that would -- I do not know if I am to understand it this way -- placate the United States. Well, I cannot really see such a possibility. What we are doing, I think, is the greatest proof of the credibility of our intentions: what we are doing in Poland, what we are doing for peace and detente, what we are doing in the sphere of democratization, and what we are doing in the field of cooperation and good relations with other Western countries, including members of NATO, who perhaps do not love human rights and democracy less than the U.S. Government -- if less, then this is this pact's matter. True, we are a nation in which the Catholics are the majority and there is this well-known saying, to turn the other cheek, but in this instance we will not avail ourselves of this noble commandment.

'Part 2' of Conference

LD042236 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2005 GMT 4 Jul 86

["Part two" of press conference held in the Council of Minister' Office in Warsaw on 4 July devoted to the results of the 10th PZPR Congress, given by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Zbigniew Messner, and PZPR Central Committee secretaries Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypryniak, and Andrej Wasilewski -- recorded]

[Text] [Words indistinct] [Margueritte, LE FIGARO, in Polish] Mr General, I understand that for the leaders of socialist states, for the general, for Mr Gorbachev, an absolute priority is the socioeconomic development of their states, to not allow a collapse of civilization. On the other hand, it seems to me that, for instance, for the state or party apparatus the absolute priority is more straightforward; it is simply to maintain oneself, maintain one's position. Consequently, with whom does the general intend to implement his program, and would a return to authentic social dialogue on the basis of respecting the Constitution of People's Poland, for which the church is stubbornly calling, not be indispensable to the implementation of the program?

[Jaruzelski] We are also stubbornly calling for this, only apparently our voices sometimes sound different and are understood differently. We are doing a great deal -- as you, sir, and you all know -- to come out to meet with various milieux and various views. I once more firmly state: No one in Poland is persecuted for their view. You know this very well, you meet with thousands of people who have the most critical judgement about the authorities, about the government, about the party, and not a hair falls from their heads. On the other hand, we do not particularly see the possibility of finding a common language with those who stand on the ground of negating the basic, fundamental principles of our system, our state, those who gave practical, concrete examples in past years, and whose behavior today reveals that they have not changed these views. Too great a responsibility rests on the authorities of the Polish People's Republic for them to be able to scorn these experiences.

We have behind us not only the last few years, but whole centuries in which Poland was laid in the grave by anarchy, frustration, and the liberum veto [Latin phrase used to signify a noble's veto on legislation in the time of the Republic before the 18th century partitions]. That is why we believe that while strengthening democratic processes, we should simultaneously strive to keep them undisturbed by anarchy-creating processes. Anarchy is a contradiction of democracy. And as I am here relating myself to a question set by Mr Margueritte -- whose many publications I read with interest, many of them witness to a penetrating knowledge of our realities, even sometimes of a sympathetic attitude to them, but I familiarized myself, with a certain amusement, with you last, or one of your last, publications, if it was correctly translated, in which you relate in all seriousness that Mikhail Gorbachev, during two conversations with me, very firmly taught and warned me, and called attention to various things, and apparently this had an effect -- I would like to know what sort of listening device or other instruments you have that allowed you to be so eminently present during our talks. Only I have to disappoint you, for in fact they were not talks of this kind. They were talks between friends, characterized by complete, mutual trust, which I particularly value.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2120 GMT on 4 July carries "extensive excerpts" of the press conference, which adds the following passage at this point:

[Robert Siebert, LOS ANGELES TIMES; in English with superimposed Polish translation] General, as is known, Poland, next to the Soviet Union, was the most seriously affected by the effects of the Chernobyl accident. In your view, general, what international measures should be taken to avoid similar accidents in the future and to ensure efficient warning about such accidents to neighboring countries?

[Jaruzelski] We talked about these matters, and I personally did. But I am of the opinion that the most competent statements on this matter were those on the Soviet side by Mikhail Gorbachev and by leading IAEA circles. There is an initiative, a proposal that jointly, on the basis of international agreements, there should be settlements, decisions that would allow people to counteract or to reduce the scale of the imminent dangers, as it appears from the many breakdowns that have taken place in nuclear power plants. What I am saying should not sound too sinister or catastrophic: There is a threat hanging over us related to the fact that there are approximately 400 such power plants in the world. We are building one ourselves, and we shall continue to build that one and another too.

This tragedy and others that have taken place are also a lesson that allows these dangers to be eliminated or at least, to be reduced substantially. Here I can say that in recent talks with Mikhail Gorbachev he informed me that extensive studies on this case have been carried out in the Soviet Union, that there are volumes of materials gathered that throw light on this occurrence from various angles. After a final assessment these materials will be made available to us and, I believe, to other international bodies as a joint experience that should prevent various threats and their consequences in the future.

[Stanislaw Glabinski, INTERPRESS] First question: I would like to say that the reading of the congress documents, parts of the congress debate, and a conference by Minister Orzechowski seem to indicate that there is a program for far wider and more active actions by Poland in the sphere of international relations. It would seem that this is a normal thing, that the normalization of the situation in the country turns the leadership's interest toward international issues of our state. I also do not conceal that among the journalists exchanging information in the foyer, apart from the speculation about personnel changes, there were also considerations as to whether Poland would want to put forward a wider, new and extensive program or initiatives in international politics in the immediate future, soon, maybe this year. I would like to ask how much truth there is in this, and in what direction we would want to act both geographically and as regards the subject? That is the first question.

The second concerns domestic affairs. I would like to ask whether the new leadership is fully aware of the fact that it is assuming office at a time when one sphere of our cultural life is in a state of very advanced disintegration. Here I am thinking about publishing. The publishing movement is in such a state that a book is published in 3 years for a friend, and normally one has to wait 5 years or more. The lines to get a book published are much longer than the lines in front of butcher shops. I would like to ask whether the new leadership has a program of changes, and whether Poland can return to the level of an average civilized European country?

[Jaruzelski] First of all, the effectiveness of management and greater national income will be decisive. The national income can be divided in different ways. Some parts of it can be increased or decreased, but it is a reality and we are moving within its range. Undoubtedly, it also concerns the whole sphere of culture. Funds for culture will be increased, but we probably will not be able to do it in a radical manner without negatively affecting other spheres that also require more substantial material support.

[I am of the opinion that the dynamics which should intensify in the development of our economy will also serve the issues of culture, including books.]

[As far as Poland's initiatives in foreign policy are concerned, we have always been very active in this sphere. I do not want to remind you of the well-known Polish initiatives that are still highly valued in the world. We are in the mainstream of the initiatives that have been worked out jointly by the Warsaw Pact -- for example, the recent initiatives from Budapest, including one as important and directly connected with our interests as the reduction of conventional weapons. I remind you: Poland has a large conventional army. Our active and constructive approach, I believe, will be an important factor in the negotiations.]

[We have proposed many initiatives in various spheres. I recently did so at the United Nations. There are modern initiatives, and some of them gradually acquire greater and greater importance. We will continue to consider to what extent Poland is to maintain a traditional and active role in international politics. I believe that there are still more and more circumstances conducive to that. In accordance with what you have said, the stronger we are internally, the better our voice is heard and the more credible it is. Also, our friendship and ever better relations within the socialist community and with the Soviet Union somehow consolidate our capabilities. We are becoming an increasingly strong partner; thus we have more opportunities to exert influence on a wider scale.]

[I say that there are no initiatives that could be presented here because, even if there were, I believe they should be kept for a different occasion. An initiative is strong when it is fresh, whereas when it is rehashed later in different conditions it loses its value.]

[Leszek Pawlowicz, CBS news, in Polish] General, many of us are wondering about the effects, the consequences of the personnel changes in the Politburo. On the basis of this, a slight observation in so far as all over the world we journalists are suspected, and probably rightly so, of inquisitiveness, and military personnel all over the world -- maybe in connection with the Greek origin of this word -- are suspected of being apodictic. Will the arrival of the generals' group to the Politburo have some influence in this direction, or is the general afraid of this?

[Jaruzelski] I am treating this, despite everything, as a good joke, because all the generals, as you mentioned, have been, first of all, party members for longer than they have been generals; that is definite. Secondly, they have all been in the supreme party authorities -- candidate Politburo members become Politburo members, secretaries become Politburo members -- well, these are [pauses] these are not qualitative changes. These are changes that take place on the same plane and simply result from specific regulations, from specific principles of the functioning of the leadership circles, the practice and experiences adopted by us. This introduces or emphasizes nothing new in this sense.

As far as the generals being apodictic is concerned, I must admit that this reply would be very difficult for me because it could be acknowledged as a defense of my style of work or activity. I think, of course, that there is a lot to improve in this style, as in all others, and my duty is to act with increasing effectiveness, but effectiveness, sir, in our conditions. After all, in all conditions it is better to listen to people in order to not commit mistakes. This lies in our (?best) interests. We do not initiate and expand democratic processes because someone from across the ocean or from another part of the globe demands this of us. They do not have any rights, either political or moral, to do this.

But, because in our own interests, on the basis of our bitter experiences we have become convinced that only basing ourselves on a thorough knowledge of the situation, basing ourselves on peoples' opinions, listening to them, and transforming this into the optimal shape of decisions promises success. We are not masochists or suicidal. We do not practice policies that are ineffective. And effectiveness means both democracy and discipline. That is all a general can say about it.

[Adam Bronikowski, television news, in Polish] This is not our first time to try to rationalize employment, and I must say in general we never managed it. Perhaps this resulted from certain principles of our system. What are the chances that this rationalization of employment, this elimination of an apparent shortage of labor can finally be solved?

[Messner] You have narrowed down the issue and related it only to employment. In the initiative contained first and foremost in the Central Committee Report delivered by the first secretary, this much wider approach concerns not just a review of employment and rationalization of employment, although it should be said that is also involved, but also a comprehensive review, as you probably remember, of structures. This concerns not just sectors of the national economy alone but also administration and even -- this was said unambiguously -- public organizations, not to mention political ones. So the issue of verification in this form will be a very serious undertaking by a party and government team which will cover all walks of our life to obtain rational structures, to uncover all those inexactitudes or, let's say, abnormalities or warps which appeared over the last period. And against that background there is, of course, the issue of rationalization of employment. Of course, we have more than once attempted to rationalize employment through personnel review, but -- as you put it in your aside -- how do you reconcile this with system principles? I do not think there are any contradictions here as we are talking of using people properly at the right places of work. That means that when there is overemployment in one place, there are shortages at another. Because of this there is a need for personnel mobility between particular industries, sectors, economies and enterprises, so employment is rational. Of course, this has to be influenced by economic factors, not just purely administrative ones; that is, it will not be possible to implement the review itself, its administrative aspects, its official and legal aspects, the aspects of correct establishment of structures if it is not supported through economic reform, which we have been implementing since 1982, contains such elements.

If they have not yet been put into practice to such an extent as to give immediate results in all cases, then the consequences, if the two trends coincide -- that is, the trend of the realistic revelation of the state of employment, organizational structures, the state of administration and other spheres of the national economy and at the same time, the economic compulsion about which I spoke, which means effectiveness of economic management and, by the same token, striving for the best possible exploitation of work resources -- then they ought, in total, to give results.

We are aware the problem is unusually difficult, and we are treating it not only in the sphere of slogans, that means we regard it as a slogan which should be put forward at the present stage. This is a great concern, and we approach this with great concern for the qualitative weight of solving this problem since its solution will meet with great and various difficulties, among others -- well, let us not hide this -- also particular problems. Various types of slow-downs and defenses will manifest themselves. We must take this into account.

From this, it is assumed this will require a lot of effort and that that kind of a team is to be created at central level and so, of course, work will have to be properly prepared in individual voivodships, in individual enterprises, branches and milieux. I think with resistance and consistency, aided by economic mechanisms, we will achieve a positive result. I am convinced of this.

[Jan Krauze, LE MONDE, in Polish] We were under the impression that, among full members of the Politburo, there are only two, namely Ms Stepien and Mr Muranski. [as heard] The general said that there were four of them. Could the general name them, so there are no inaccuracies. My question is a little different. Will the citizen's councils, which the general mentioned in his report, be connected to PRON or not, and will representatives of the so-called opposition be able to take part in them?

[Jaruzelski] Quite rightly, in the composition of the party leadership to date, in the party leadership, the Politburo, Politburo members, candidate Politburo members, secretaries, ought to be treated as an integral leadership group and, if we are speaking about differentiation of this sort: Politburo members or candidate Politburo members, then they have an exclusively, let us call it, formally prestigious character, but they do not influence the degree of involvement and the importance of their contribution during our proceeding. Starting from this assumption, until now there were four workers in the leadership, and there continue to be four workers in the leadership, namely, you mentioned, you gave two surnames: I will add a third -- Alfred Miodowicz. He continues to be a worker. For 30-odd years, he is a worker, remaining in active cooperation with his parent enterprise, in which he proceeds to fulfill his duties as a worker. At the same time he is the chairman of the OPZZ. Should this exclude him as a worker? On the contrary, this increases the workers' voice. This increases the force of the workers' influence, as, through him, those millions he represents can now speak. And finally, a candidate Politburo member is Comrade Rembisz, a female worker from Poznan. And in this way, that is four people. [sentence as heard]. Please show me such a leadership; it would probably sound altogether like a joke if we expected this, for instance, in the leaderships, authorities of the Western, capitalist states -- that they contained workers. That is why I am very much puzzled by such a great concern for their sufficient number to find themselves in our authorities. I wish to stress that never before in the history of our party have there been so many workers and peasants in the Central Committee, so many delegates to the congress who are workers and peasants. This makes credible our calls: A workers' party, a party of working people. But let us not measure this against such subtle evaluations very far from the heart of the matter.

[Krauze] Thank you very much.

[Jaruzelski] You set another question, about citizens' councils. [pauses] Citizens conventions, yes, those which we are proposing, and the social-consultation councils at the level of the Council of State. This is an idea put forward as a sort of offer, expressed in any case more than once before, though in a somewhat different form, for we state it is not necessary to organically enter PRON, recognize oneself as to its constituent part, to find a plane for discussion and dialogue. The patriotic movement can be a side in this dialogue, in relation to other agents; we even mentioned those which could be involved in this. This is, a further concretization of this offer, resting on our creation of a certain plane, which in the given case at the central level would be the Council of State, at the local level territorial, voivodship councils, at which representatives of various ways of looking at our reality could meet with a full guarantee of the unequivocality of the recognition of the Polish reason of state [racja stanu], the Constitution of the Polish Peoples' Republic.

This has to be a credible recognition, which manifest itself by a certain attitude, by a certain conduct, and this alone gives the possibility that this common language is not artificial or imitation, that this is not a game of appearances, and that it serves Poland.

[Bozydar Sosien, PAP, in Polish] The following statement was made from the congress rostrum: The work is often sick. This is a bitter statement, but unfortunately a true one. In this connection I would like to ask whether the party, while implementing a program adopted at the congress, will lay greater emphasis and give priority treatment to the system of incentives. This first. Secondly, can we expect the authorities will be more consistent in disciplining work. Here I think even of brutal dismissal from certain posts and certain spheres of work people, who comrade general named strongly in his final speech. Here I think of sluggards, indolent people, idlers and layabouts. And a final question: Can one expect that material success achieved through hard work will not be something embarrassing, as often happens now.

[Jaruzelski] The congress dealt with the issue of work to a considerable extent. First, these economic, organizational and moral incentives, which should contribute to the increase of effectiveness, productivity and discipline of work: I do not think I can add anything new to the thoughts formulated at the congress, which found their reflection in the resolution. This is now a duty of the party and state leadership to act in all these spheres I have mentioned so work acquires higher and higher standing and is more and more effective. That includes respect and recognition for success in work and its proper material reward. We talk openly about these matters. We think that good, above-average work should be well rewarded and above average.

We are not defining some artificial limits here. These days we have people -- outstanding inventors, rationalizers -- who are, frankly, very rich by our standards. No one should envy this, although envy is a human thing and regretfully it does appear. We shall defend such successes if they are based on these healthy foundations. I think the team system is one opportunity for employees to appraise the contribution of individual collective members and to differentiate this as appropriate through remuneration. The fundamental thing is for that remuneration to be proportional to effort and proportional to work results. That is a fundamental matter and there will be unceasing struggle for it.

[Syrian reporter -- name indistinct -- in Arabic with superimposed translation] Comrade General, I would like to refer to your visit to the Maghreb countries. Can we expect a high-level visit in the immediate future to other countries of that region, in particular Syria?

[Jaruzelski] Poland and Syria are linked by good, friendly relations. We support all justified efforts of the Syrian people for the country's security. I think we are also making an actual contribution to this by maintaining a Polish military unit on the Golan Heights within the UN Armed Forces. Our economic, political and other cooperation is developing well. Syrian delegations took part in the congress. We are interested in continuing the development of these relations and undoubtedly an important element of these would be visits, equally by President Hafiz al-Asad to Poland and my possible visit to Syria. In general there is agreement on these matters, but in this instance we have not yet determined specific dates and the order in which they will take place.

[Pavel Minarik, RUDE PRAVO, in Polish] Congress delegates are already at work today in enterprises and institutions throughout Poland.

To what, in your view, comrade should they pay most attention in their conversations with party members and nonparty people in the communities where they live and work? And another question: are any new forms of implementing congress resolutions envisaged?

[Jaruzelski] I could reply very concisely and perhaps even untypically: They should above all listen, just as our public, our working class undoubtedly followed what was said from the congress platform quite closely. There would be no point in repeating it yet again in a similar or identical manner.

Hearing how the words at the congress were received, however, would be most valuable. That is why we should be going to work enterprises, and why I announced the whole party leadership will go next Tuesday [8 July]. We will hear how the working class, working people, want to implement the program and what they advise us in this respect to achieve higher efficiency of this process.

Of course my answer is simplified, because surely there will be a need to convey many matters, especially concerning the color of the congress, some details, some reflections and some feelings. We believe, however, that hearing opinion and including it in future work will be most valuable.

This afternoon at a Central Committee Secretariat meeting we determined some principles for future activity. We agreed with the comrade premier that, in the nearest future, a joint meeting will be held of the Politburo and the government Presidium. We will be in touch with our allies the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party to coordinate joint principles of activity. A meeting of the Council of State will be held soon; then a meeting with the chairmen of the people's councils and voivodas. All in all we are undertaking actions from the start, but at the same time taking care to avoid an excess of meetings and conferences. We will organize to the extent they are necessary. In technical terms, the post-congress campaign will be set in motion and will then be transformed into an accountability and election campaign in particular party cells beginning this autumn. As far as new forms are concerned, I would rather not talk about it more extensively, because first, many interesting thoughts, initiatives and suggestions were made at the congress on how to implement the congress resolutions, and, second, these meetings and conferences I mentioned a moment ago are to serve the task of developing the most efficient and surely new forms of our work.

[Antonio Villardo, Mexico, in Spanish with superimposed Polish translation] It seems to me that the draft program of economic renewal drafted at the congress is marvellous. I am afraid, however, that this problem is foreign indebtedness. In Latin America we have been experts for years in seeing how our dreams disintegrate when we have to pay the interest from international indebtedness. From my point of view the question of the possible remission of debt is very ambiguous. I would like to ask two things. Above all, would Poland like to support the Latin American initiative on the remission of debt? Second, I would like to know whether the initiative of Fidel Castro regarding global negotiations to solve the problem of foreign indebtedness is known here and whether it is discussed?

[Jaruzelski] Debt is, of course, an enormous world problem, though it arose in different circles of our world structure. On the one hand, in those states which find themselves in the orbit of the finances, the financial mechanisms of the capitalist world, above all the countries of Latin America, where debt -- we speak of this openly -- has the character of a certain kind of financial colonialism, because the rise of this debt, its nature, its results, have precisely such a nature.

Poland also bears the great burden of debt which actually arose under different conditions. We feel the responsibility we bear for the debt, although this was brought about by many factors which were beyond our control. The worsening payments situation was affected most by restrictions and sanctions applied against Poland, which as I have already said, cost us -- financially and materially -- half the total debt. We must overcome this great burden, this great financial barrier which makes it difficult for us to accelerate our development, and that is why we must do it in such a way and on such a scale as described in the Central Committee report and by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, without infringing on the basic elements of the development dynamics. Besides, to do this would not be in the interests of creditors who should, I think, be interested in Poland being able to meet its obligations. For this to occur we need economic growth -- particularly export growth -- and in this we count on an understanding, rational, and partnerlike attitude from our creditors.

Poland's ever-increasing participation in the CEMA system, the developing economic integration, and the plans and programs for cooperation up to the year 2,000, are our great opportunity to strengthen our economic power.

We shall become economically stronger and the debt problem will be less troublesome. I spoke about the issue of debt from the UN rostrum when I proposed that outstanding experts and representatives from both the debtor and creditor countries study a realistic way out of this situation. I proposed, among others, that a center based at the Jagiellonian University be formed. I mentioned this in my report and certain steps have been taken. But looking at the issue realistically I realize this is just a beginning and that the problem is much more wide-ranging. For the scale of the problem, [the solution lies] along the lines of the proposals by our dear friend Fidel Castro, which we have studied with great interest and which, I think, are a far-reaching and radical solution, and to improve the financial situation in the world and in particular the countries which suffer most from the burden of debt.

I think the talks should rotate around this, that we should create the conditions for regaining and strengthening of world economic order. The current situation may transform itself, at some stage, into financial anarchy, which will touch not only those countries suffering most, but also the most affluent creditor countries, which should have the courage to have a somewhat more long-term, far-reaching view, to avoid that which could threaten financial, economic catastrophe.

[Gwozdz Zdislaw, Austria, in Polish] (?In) the hope that you, general, were able to acquaint yourself with the last communique of the episcopal conference, I pose the following question. In its communique, the conference assessed the state of social life in the country much more harshly than you, when presenting the Central Committee report to the 10th PZPR Congress. How do you explain these differences of assessment, and do you expect a coming together of these assessments?

[Jaruzelski] I admit I would have been very surprised -- I am not such an optimist to expect the communiques and positions of the episcopate will converge with the opinion of the Politburo of a communist party. This is something of an ideal which, in our earthly lives, we will, for certain, not attain. However, what is important is to achieve understanding on certain primary values for the nation, for the state, and I think in particular my talks with Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the Polish primate, aim in that direction and allow for such a plane to slowly, with effort, with resistance, with difficulties, be constructed.

We also spoke about this from the congress tribune, indicating the church, which, as it claims, has a rule over souls in Poland, would have a lot to do in this situation to improve many aspects of our social and economic life, actively influencing people's attitudes, their activity in the work process. This also, in some way, was reflected in this communique, and I am very glad that, for the first time, at such length, if I perceive this correctly, matters about work, about national and social wealth were noted. Up until now, at least in such a clearly articulated way, there has been no such thing.

I would, however, not attach excessive importance, as I have said, to our differences of opinion on some issues. Neither the socialist revolution in Poland nor the bourgeois revolution in France would have been possible if the masses that accomplished them had faithfully followed the sociopolitical teachings of the church, which, as we know, opposed these revolutions. The church adjusts to the situation, to historical processes with a certain delay, as I have already mentioned. We think the Catholic Church in Poland will eventually fully recognize the realities, recognize actual developments and, just like most clergy today, including many who do so actively, participate in strengthening the concrete reality we are building. The church has the principle of not acknowledging its mistakes; it is an acceptable principle. We have a different way of speaking of our past and of our errors, sometimes even taking it, I would say, to the level of self-flagellation. What is important, however, is that even without speaking about its errors, after some time the church actually acknowledges them as both its policies and its position change. We count on this very much. The Polish church, with its patriotic traditions and its sense of realism, I believe and wish it to be so, will adapt more and more fully to the reality in which, after all, it participates through the millions of its faithful.

[Gerhard Kowalski, GDR, in Polish] Tomorrow a large operation begins for the third time — the youth and children's exchange between the GDR and Poland, an operation of which you, comrade first secretary, were one of the founders. I would like to ask you to say a few words on the subject. What will the exchange look like this year?

[Jaruzelski] I think the exchange of young people, who take their holidays in the GDR and Poland, is a great achievement of ours, an achievement of Polish-GDR friendship. Every year we mutually attain greater range and more experience. This year, 300,000 young people will participate, a very large number. We call this investment in our friendship for the 21st century. For these young people, who will familiarize themselves with their neighbor and friend, retain memories that are the best form of strengthening friendship's long-term meaning. That is why we relate to this initiative with great goodwill. We highly value the hospitality our GDR friends show to Polish children and youth and we try to reciprocate it. This is, one might say, a model element of building relations of a new type between Poles and Germans that sweeps away, if I might put it thus, all that which in our history was burden, was ballast. It shows cooperation and relations on precisely this ground can be and must be developed.

[Waldemar Rudnik, Polish television, in Polish] Several times, as a result of television programs, the comrade general visited places where, putting it mildly, reality is far from what we would wish in the shape of law and order. The results were sometimes, at least locally, often electrifying. What of it though, when subjects for our publicistic activity are found next door that are, if not equally, then only just a little less drastic?

The question comes from this. I would add that frequently we wait without result for replies to press criticism from those who know very well the first secretary will not get everywhere to fix things for badly functioning party cells or insensitive administrations. My question is will the general specify the intended activities of the new party leadership so that press criticism could have a new political rank, as I am inclined to regard the reality hitherto, from my experiences, as barely satisfactory.

[Jaruzelski] One of the barriers, a weighty one... Perhaps here it would here be appropriate to seek the basic reserves of the mobilization of activism, removing various kinds of reservation. These are bad examples of the functioning of some sections of the authorities, party cells or administrative or state authorities, using negative fact. It after all rebounds with a hundred-fold echo. People evaluate the authorities not according to the best and most correct programs, but according to that which finds itself in their nearest surroundings, which has an influence on their lives. That depends on people.

There is a certain paradox here. People make peoples' lives mutually more difficult. Someone is rude to someone in a shop; then that person is rude to someone else at the post office, and so on. So, this is a matter not only in economic categories, but also in psychological and moral ones. This is a matter of upbringing processes. In any case, after all, let us say this openly, Poland is not all exception. In other countries, especially those that attribute special attainments to themselves in the process of democracy and human rights, much heartlessness is found; many people find themselves at the margin, on the outside, deprived of the right to work, deprived of the conditions for existence, constantly bombarded with all sorts of extreme, stressful situations.

We might be poorer but we are much further advanced, and in spite of everything we are much healthier. But this does not mean we are healthy here; here we must do an awful lot, and as I said yesterday, we will combat with full determination, consistency and severity all which deforms and makes ugly the life of the society and which insults, as I would put it, the nature of our ideal, which we serve; all which undermines the good name of Poland and makes it difficult for us to overcome difficulties. In this sense we support even more decisively press criticism which exposes and condemns such phenomena; if it is genuine criticism we will protect it and give it priority. At the same time it must be balanced and present what is beautiful, noble and good, and which can serve as an example. We must not develop a habit of seeing everything as extremely negative phenomena, as they do not, after all, dominate. Many millions of people work honestly, sincerely, wisely, and deserve their work be respected and appreciated. In such proportions the matters which will be presented will have educational value, and we will encourage such a direction in the propaganda activity and support it.

[Unidentified voice] Ladies and gentlemen. That was the last reply, I would like to thank you all for your interest and your participation in today's conference. Good bye. [applause]

Further Coverage of Conference

LD051000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 5 Jul 86

["Further fragment" of 4 July press conference in the Council of Ministers' Office in Warsaw July devoted to the results of the 10th PZPR Congress, by PZPR Central Committee first Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Zbigniew Messner, and PZPR Central Committee secretaries Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypryński and Andrzej Wasilweski -- recorded]

[Excerpt] [Jackson Deal] [THE WASHINGTON POST, in English fading into Polish translation] Mr General, I would like to add to the questions on church-state relations: I would like to ask what is the standpoint of the authorities to proposals by the church authorities to give an official status to political prisoners in Poland? Secondly, what is the standpoint on the Church Foundation, the Agricultural Fund -- will it be officially recognized? What are its perspectives?

[Jaruzelski] I did not have the time to more thoroughly familiarize myself with that which you call the church proposals. I judge this relates to the last pastoral letter of the episcopate, issued in the last few days. I intend to familiarize myself with this letter in more detail. As always, we familiarize ourselves with all the more important statements of the church, always leaning in a direction so state-church relations arrange themselves constructively. This is, after all, the priority interest of our nation and state. I will not characterize these relations. I had occasion to do this once more in the Central Committee report. That presentation is official. It is obligatory and it is lasting. As to so-called political prisoners. I have also had occasion, more than once, to state my views on this subject. These are people punished with imprisonment for transgressing against the laws in force in the state. Such punishments are aimed at persons who do not observe the law in civilized countries, including the one you represent, but I believe that in these matters, if you'll forgive the expression, there is more hypocrisy. We have heard here, and we well know, that in the United States priests have been arrested and tried, and I could adduce many other examples from other Western countries. There is also the connection between political activity and violation of the laws in force in the country in question. In these matters things should be placed in their proper categories, and things which do not deserve it should not be elevated to a higher category. We do not wish to have political prisoners, above all non-political prisoners. We do not need them. They are a burden to us. If we have them, it is because they effectively wish it upon themselves through their own actions. In Poland there is ample scope for broad, energetic, multifaceted activity in which patriotic civic aspirations may be indulged, but on the basis of the existing law, on the basis of the Constitution.

As for the Agricultural Fund, that is a long subject, for it has a long history, and if I were to begin expounding upon it I expect I would bore you. But the topic is still open. It is being discussed. There are some contentious points. But they do not touch upon the central idea, the central principle, as this has been emphatically endorsed by us in the adoption of the law on funds, the inception of conversations, the drafting of the draft law on that fund, some elements of this law are under discussion. If certain contradictory views on this material could be removed I believe it would be possible to speak successfully of the introduction of this fund. One of these disagreements is the standpoint of the authorities, which rests on our regarding it as being indispensable for its influence concerning what resources will be directed to which programs of agricultural development, which should be specified through cooperation with the government, that is, with the ministry of agriculture.

After all, we have a very wide and extensive program, stretched out over years, of investing in agriculture, various types of solutions in this economic field. We cannot treat this as completely isolated and not subject to certain general rigors, this quota which would be a church subsidy resulting from the church fund. It has to be applied in a logical, organic way, (?with) the approbation of the state and government bodies, which are in charge of all aspects of this matter. This is one of the basic points in which this disagreement exists: Let it be overcome as quickly as possible.

[Iji Oskala [word indistinct], in Polish] Comrade first secretary, I apologize, I do not precisely know the Polish tongue. I am here for only the 6th day. I already have one question. Yesterday, there resounded from the platform of the 10th PZPR Congress a voice of peace to the whole world. The comprehensive system of international security cannot be solved in a short time. What concrete steps should be taken?

[Jaruzelski] The question is very fundamental and I do not feel fully able to reply here in a way that could have a more universal significance. This is, after all, a problem which touches on all states, relates to the great powers in the first rank, relates to the whole world. I feel that especially those proposal recently made by the Soviet Union, by the socialist countries, are precisely such a road, such an offer, which assumes gradual steps and assumes the elimination of the most threatening aspects of the current situation. To them there belongs, on the one hand, the elimination or limitation, the slowing-down of nuclear armaments, the most threatening type of armaments. These proposals manifest themselves in various formulas in the years of experience with nuclear arms, and are devoted to a long-term, strategic task: their gradual and planned liquidation and to counter the very dangerous, new factor in the arms race -- its transfer to space.

I have already mentioned we are working for something very important for Poland and Europe, the proposal to reduce conventional armaments. Every one of these moves, independently from its material-military eloquence, would have a great psychological, political, moral eloquence. The point is this first step, and I understand in this way your question -- that something must happen. Unfortunately, nothing is happening at the moment. These proposals are hanging in a vacuum. The negotiations at different levels -- Vienna, Geneva, Stockholm -- are not pushing the matter forward. We, for instance, are very actively interested in the Stockholm negotiations. They, after all, are to form the fundamental bases of trust. Our readiness to subject ourselves to arms inspection and disarmament is a very important step forward.

World opinion -- and after all, you people here represent that opinion to a broad degree -- should approach these initiatives with greater understanding. They result from the deepest conviction about their usefulness for the peace of Europe and the world, and they are often bold and honest. I stress: They are honest. I know [passage indistinct] these negotiations through their honesty, the creation of equal chances for everyone, the assurance of equal security, underline the cleanliness, the authenticity of the intentions which illuminate them.

[Marek Hausil, EKSPRES WIECZORNY, in Polish] During the preconference discussion and during the work of the congress, some debaters referred to the necessity of continuing the line of the Ninth Congress. This was also confirmed in the Central Committee report. What, comrade general, is this continuation to be and by what should it be characterized? A second question: In the statement which Comrade Gorbachev gave to the EKSPRES during his visit to the Swierczewski plant he spoke about inviting the comrade general to the Soviet Union. Are dates of this visit known?

[Jaruzelski] The continuation of the Ninth Congress: The whole congress was saturated, in its essence, with the spirit of the Ninth Congress. All these themes which tend toward the line of socialist renewal were after all, born at the Ninth Congress, born at the time, and, as I have already mentioned, only implemented in new conditions, in relation to new needs. And we are, and we will be, loyal to this line. Detailing all its components would take a little too much time. As to this invitation to the Soviet Union, I accepted it with great satisfaction. The dates will be set. At this moment we have not yet set these dates.

MIODOWICZ DENIES CONFLICTS BETWEEN 3 POSTS

LD052125 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Jul 86

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman by an unidentified reporter; date and place not specified -- recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Let us listen to an interview with Alfred Miodowicz, a Politburo member and at the same time, let us recall, a member of the Council of State...

[Miodowicz, interrupting] Well, this is usually widely remembered, as it always arouses some controversy.

[Reporter] He is at the same time the chairman of the OPZZ. That means he holds three very important posts, has three very important tasks.

[Miodowicz] I am simply the OPZZ chairman and my duty is always to represent the interests of the working people in general, and particularly, interests of trade unionists, such is my role in the Politburo above all. This is my task. Apart from this, the situation is different from the previous ones, for it is not the Politburo that has selected its member to become the head of trade unions, but the person who was elected in democratic, very democratic and direct elections in Bytom, and has after some time become a member of the Politburo. Understanding the subtlety and consequences of this different situation clarifies many things.

[Reporter] Now being a Politburo member, comrade, you will have fewer possibilities of direct contact with party comrades from your parent organization in the Lenin steelworks.

[Miodowicz] It is not so. (?It is hard to) fortell, but now my view is that for the safety of every public activist, and particularly, a union activist, one ought to stick firmly to the base so that one does not keel over. Well, if I am constantly in touch and see what goes on in our steelworks, then even when it comes to a return it will not be any suprise to me and I am not going to rend my garments and despair, so to speak. I have always thought that one's roots are important.

MOJSOV PREVIEWS HARARE NONALIGNED SUMMIT

LD051307 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 5 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, has expressed his belief that from its summit in Harare this September the Nonaligned Movement will bring out clear proposals for resolving key international problems. In an interview with Radio Sarajevo, Mojsov said: "There is no doubt that the Nonaligned Movement, which has to date now always put forward the right answers, will present at its eighth summit in Harare in September the international community with a precise platform for resolving key international problems from the standpoint of the general good, and with clear recommendations on ways for overcoming crises and creating a democratic community of equal nations and countries as the essential condition for lasting peace and the progress of mankind."

Speaking in connection with the 30th anniversary of the Brioni meeting of Tito, Nehru and Al-Nasir, which paved the way for nonaligned countries in Belgrade, Mojsov said that these events are much more than just a jubilee, because they mark the emergence of a new epoch in international relations. The first summit meeting, according to Mojsov, signified the beginning of a reorientation in the development of international relations contrary to that of "great power politics and bloc divisions of the world."

Mojsov recalled that for Yugoslavia and for President Tito the orientations toward independence and autonomy, an equitable position in international relations, were laid down as essential principles even during the National Liberation War and were built into the foundations of the policies of the new Yugoslavia and its relationship with other countries.

Lazar Mojsov stressed that Tito's vision and efforts received full affirmation at the first summit of the nonaligned in Belgrade in 1961, at which the concept of the policy of nonalignment was founded. "The quarter century of the movement's existence is a period of its constant growth and maturing, the expansion of its influence and the acceptability of the nonaligned principles and platforms as the way to preserve world peace and resolve international problems," he said.

Mojsov recalled that, in addition to the political questions, the countries of the movement have also eagerly broached the question of restructuring and adapting the existing unequitable international economic order and have advocated fundamental changes in all areas, from the right to self-determination, independence and equality to equitable participation in international economic exchange and the information system.

The vice president of the SFRY Presidency stressed that the Nonaligned Movement has preserved its independence and freedom of action despite constant efforts to divide the nonaligned countries and place them under the wing of one or other of the military blocs. This, according to Mojsov, has been achieved thanks to the strength of the principles and aims of the nonaligned policy, which involves its members and aligns them in a united authentic front in the struggle for peace, equality and freedom.

Later Mojsov stated that the movement is still faced with the same pressures today, but he expressed his firm belief that the nonaligned will resist such attempts, as they have to date, and submit at their eighth summit in Harare forceful and precise guidelines for resolving key international problems with the aim of "creating a democratic community of equitable nations and countries as the essential condition for lasting peace and the progress of mankind."

Harare Platform Discussed

AU031702 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] The Federal Social Council for International Relations met under the chairmanship of Mirko Ostojic. It discussed the draft platform for the activities of our delegation at the eighth Nonaligned Summit in Harare. Dragan Colovic reports:

In an extremely fruitful discussion, it was confirmed that the world has changed considerably in the last decade, that the concentration of military, political, economic-financial, and technological power in only a few countries has reached such proportions that concrete and urgent answers and action by the nonaligned and developing countries are needed. Answers and action are needed not only by them but also by others, primarily the small and medium-developed neutral countries and even those that belong to the blocs, which because of the concentration of power primarily in the leading bloc countries have lost much of their independence, and see their prospects in the policy of nonalignment as the most comprehensive force for peace.

Several proposals and suggestions were made at the Council session on how to respond to these great challenges of our time, avoiding an aggravation of the international situation. It was said that the nonaligned countries and our country, too, should make an extremely constructive, responsible, realistic, bold, and efficient approach for the purpose of strengthening the role of the movement as a global factor. In this context, the necessity of developing quite specific forms of economic-financial and scientific-technical cooperation of the nonaligned and developing countries, and a greater reliance on their own forces were especially stressed.

What is new is that because of increased military and other pressures and armed interventions the cooperation is now expanding to the military field. However, bearing in mind the sensitivity of this question -- the nonaligned countries could be reproached that they are embarking on creating a third military bloc -- those taking part in the discussion have supported the view that at the present stage, one should concentrate on cooperation in questions of defense doctrine.

Several critical observations were also made about the content of the platform; especially a certain idealization of the situation in the Nonaligned Movement. Criticism was also expressed about the institutionalization of the movement. It was therefore said that the platform for the activities of the Yugoslav delegation at the eighth Summit in Harare should be improved and harmonized with the demands of the moment. Action by the nonaligned countries is necessary, but it must be realistic, for this is the only way they can contribute to the strengthening of the action ability of the movement. The movement needs this ability now more than ever.

SUNDIC VIEWS PRAVDA ARTICLE ON TIES WITH PRC

LD031620 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Marking the 65th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Moscow has, through a prominent article in PRAVDA, called upon China to join the Soviet Union in efforts to promote the traditionally good relations between the peoples of the two countries because, in the paper's view, all the necessary conditions for removing the existing differences in Soviet-Chinese relations exist. PRAVDA does not deny the differences in the two countries' approaches to a whole series of international issues but goes on to add that this fact should not reduce the possibility of working together on the basis of equality and adherence to principles without detriment to third countries.

This is not the first time that Moscow has invited Beijing to cooperate on the basis of equality but, in contrast to the previous attitude to relations with China, the PRAVDA article contained an important new feature: It does not maintain that the improvement in and promotion of bilateral relations depend solely on China.

On this occasion as well, however, PRAVDA dissociates itself from China's preconditions for normalizing its political relations with the Soviet Union maintaining that cooperation between the two countries should not develop to the detriment of other countries, hinting here at Afghanistan and Vietnam, obviously.

It must be said that China is ready to develop and promote its relations with the Soviet Union, but under the condition that Moscow removes three existing obstacles: that it withdraws its troops from Afghanistan, abandons its support for Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia, and reduces its troops on the Chinese border. The Chinese side refuses to accept the Soviet explanation to the effect that to comply with its demand would be detrimental to third countries because, in China's view, each of the three demands concerns China's security.

Recently there have been rumors about the possibility of a meeting between Hu Yaobang and Gorbachev in due course. There are also hints that the two countries' foreign ministers may exchange visits and that the two parties may even resume relations. As things stand at the moment, however, China is not willing to take any major steps because, in its view, this could be interpreted as acquiescence to both Soviet support for Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia and the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

It must be said that China does not deny that there has been an improvement in relations between the two countries recently, particularly in the economic sphere. It does not hide its interest in seeing relations develop further but only under the condition that the Soviet Union removes the obstacles to which Beijing has been drawing attention for years.

It cannot be denied that China's demands are justified because all of them are too important to be disregarded easily. But even if the Soviet Union itself would like to see the three obstacles removed, there are no prospects whatsoever of the Soviet Union withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan or ending its support for Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia at the present time.

As for the reduction in Soviet troops on the Chinese border, this issue could be resolved to mutual advantage. In the case of the first two issues, the Soviet Union refuses to admit that it is wrong while China, for its part, cannot, nor does it what to, ignore them because that would be in contradiction with its idea of the principle of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of others.

Nevertheless, despite all the differences in relations between the two countries, it cannot be denied that both sides are making efforts to improve them, and this is not of little importance.

SUNDIC SEES MITTERRAND AS U.S.-USSR MEDIATOR

LD041536 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Today's meeting between Francois Mitterrand and Ronald Reagan in New York as well as the forthcoming visit of the French head of state to Moscow, where he will hold talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, offer a chance to the French president to play a significant role through an immediate dialogue with the leaders of the two superpowers in seeking a way out of a crisis which has for a long time burdened relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Though perhaps the role of a mediator does not suit him because of France's specific position in Europe, the world and [words indistinct] Mitterrand will undoubtedly be able to lead a dialogue with both Reagan and Gorbachev better than many statesmen, [words indistinct] as much for future relations between the two superpowers and the two blocs, as for the [words indistinct] meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev. Mitterrand's efforts to bring closer [word indistinct] of Moscow and Washington will be so much easier since the two superpowers themselves have already undertaken certain steps toward the negotiating table.

The United States has accepted the Soviet initiative to start preparations for a meeting between Foreign Ministers Shultz and Shevardnadze, and, judging by a statement by President Reagan, this can be considered a reliable indication that he will meet Gorbachev by the end of the year, or at the latest at the beginning of the next year. The course and the outcome of the talks which Mitterrand will hold with Gorbachev from 7 to 10 July in Moscow to a great extent depend on what President Reagan says to Mitterrand (?before) the meeting with Gorbachev and on the development of relations between the two superpowers.

If President Reagan -- and the U.S.-Soviet summit largely depends on this -- speaks in positive terms about any of the Soviet proposals sent to the United States, or if, on the other hand, he shows his readiness not to part with the Soviet leader without any agreement, this would be enough for Moscow to mitigate, at least to some extent, the lack of trust in Reagan and his intentions. However, no matter how skillful Mitterrand may be, his mediation will be in vain if his talks with Reagan and Gorbachev end only in (?promises). After all, the two superpowers are not used to somebody else, on their behalf, looking after their mutual behavior, except in cases when they themselves, as for example at the present time, have no better solution to coordinate their attitude toward each other, which are very often irreconcilable. But, considering France's specific position in the Western military treaty and its relatively close relations with Moscow, Mitterrand is equally acceptable to both Reagan and Gorbachev, not only as a mediator, but also as a statesman who in (?the present situation) is most suitable to speak on behalf of West Europe, whose voice has recently been increasingly taken into account [word indistinct] in Washington.

Actually, Europe is beginning to realize its delicate position between the two superpowers, and in particular a danger to which it would be exposed if the Soviet-U.S. confrontation [word indistinct]. Of course, West Europe because of its own contradictions is still far from being satisfied with its position, since its alliance duties, and primarily its duties toward the United States, very often place it in [word indistinct]. Coming to terms with such a situation could be dangerous (?for) East-West relations. Mitterrand is aware of this fact and that is why he has taken on the role of a mediator between Moscow and Washington.

AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAYS VISIT TO BELGRADE

LD011313 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG) -- Austrian Foreign Minister Peter Jankowitsch arrived for an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia today. At Beograd Airport in Surcin the guest from the neighboring country was welcomed and greeted by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of Foreign Affairs; Milan Veres, assistant federal secretary; Milos Krstic, SFRY ambassador in Vienna, and others. Paul Leifer, the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade, and the embassy staff, were also there to welcome him.

Talks With Dizdarevic

LD021315 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Austrian Foreign Minister Peter Jankowitsch this afternoon exchanged views about bilateral cooperation. The talks between the two foreign ministers were held in an open, friendly and cordial atmosphere with the two sides agreeing about all the issues that were discussed. The first round of talks concentrated on political, economic and cultural relations between the two neighboring countries while the talks, scheduled for tomorrow, will focus on some international issues.

During the first part of today's meeting the two sides agreed that bilateral relations are very good and are developing to the satisfaction of both sides. Regular consultations have been considerably contributing to this. The importance was stressed of numerous contacts at various levels which contributed to the strengthening of trust and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Austria.

Particular attention was devoted to the status of our national minorities living in Austria. The Austrian foreign minister spoke about the positive contribution made by the Slovenes and Croats living in his country to the promotion of bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Austria. The two sides agreed that the Croatian and Slovene minorities constituted a bridge of cooperation.

During the talks the two sides expressed an interest in seeing Article Seven of the State Treaty on Austria being fully implemented.

It was noted that Article Seven is not the limit but that cooperation should be further developed, beyond its provisions.

It was stressed, in reference to economic cooperation, that a reasonable level has been attained but that all possibilities have not yet been exhausted. The two sides agreed that for some time now economic cooperation has been sluggish, and that a fresh impetus is needed. Yugoslavia is interested to see economic relations developing further and is also keen to resolve the deficit which has for a number of years been a feature of its trade with Austria. It was stressed during the talks that there are broad possibilities for our country to join the Eureka program, which in some way would also stimulate and promote bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Austria.

The two ministers positively assessed financial cooperation between the two countries and referred to the possibility of realizing the program of joint investments.

The two sides are equally interested in the possibility of Austrian investment in Yugoslavia and in that context discussed the realization of some projects which could make a further contribution to the promotion of overall economic links. In this connection the two ministers exchanged views about some aspects and possibilities of introducing tariff concessions.

Today's talks also covered the issues of cooperation in tourism where sound results have already been achieved. Both sides expressed an interest in the further promotion of scientific and technical cooperation, particularly in relation to the Eureka projects.

Today's talks also covered the problem of environmental protection which will be a subject of special talks to be held soon and which are expected to result in an agreement. Talks will soon begin on a new agreement on cultural cooperation, which has reached a very high level of development. The dialogue also included the issues concerning the position of our workers temporarily working in Austria. It was agreed that further efforts should be invested in order to improve the position of our people living and working in Austria. Reference was also made to the successful cooperation between various departments in the Ministries for Internal Affairs and to cooperation in the sphere of information.

1 Jul Dinner Toasts

LD021341 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2151 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, hosted a formal dinner in honor of Austrian Foreign Minister Peter Jankowitsch in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade this evening. During the dinner, which took place in a very cordial atmosphere, they exchanged toasts.

After expressing satisfaction with the visit of the Austrian foreign minister to Belgrade, the federal secretary for foreign affairs stressed that in Yugoslavia there is great interest and readiness for developing good-neighborly relations with Austria. Continuing his toast, Dizdarevic said: "Today we have established an identity of interests in development and cooperation. We established that the level of cooperation, the level of understanding and friendship, are such that we can speak about our relations only in very positive terms."

Dizdarevic then said that it is necessary to provide new impulses for cooperation and in particular for economic cooperation for which new paths and forms should be sought in order to emerge from the situation of a certain stagnation. According to the federal secretary, the interest of Yugoslavia is not exclusively of an economic nature, rather it includes many other areas of life.

Dizdarevic said that in the talks in Belgrade the two sides established that in some aspects of cooperation between the two neighboring countries the pace is too slow and that it is necessary to overcome this. The two sides stressed the significance of minorities -- Slovene and Croatian -- for the entirety of Yugoslav-Austrian relations. In this connection the federal secretary stressed readiness to realize Article Seven of the state contract of Austria. Nonaligned Yugoslavia and neutral Austria are linked by many common things in the world in the which they live, the federal secretary pointed out and concluded that further efforts will be needed to improve general circumstances in international life, and in particular in Europe on realizing the system of security and cooperation, as well as cooperation within the UN framework.

In conclusion of his toast Raif Dizdarevic expressed his conviction that Austria as the future host will make a great contribution to the success of the forthcoming CSCE meeting in Vienna.

After thanking his host for a cordial reception and his warm words, Austrian Foreign Minister Peter Jankowitsch said that as soon as he arrived in Yugoslavia he had the impression of being among friends. He stressed that his visit to Yugoslavia is no coincidence. Austria wishes to strengthen its relations with its neighbors, and in view of this I am paying this visit to Yugoslavia, Peter Jankowitsch stressed, adding:

"Yugoslavia and Austria have succeeded in eliminating all those barriers and obstacles from the historical heritage and in embarking on the path of cooperation. We succeeded in achieving such good relations and such a degree of trust as never before. And this is not everything that is opening up before democratic Austria and nonaligned Yugoslavia. That is why we were able to have such talks today."

Minister Jankowitsch then noted that in today's talks in Belgrade the promotion of economic, cultural and other types of cooperation was also mentioned. In his view this confirms that the two countries are also able to discuss the problem of national minorities, which should really present a bridge of cooperation between the neighbors. The Austrian minister further substantiated this by mentioning the need for national minorities everywhere in the world to become a bridge of cooperation between neighbors.

Continuing his toast, the Austrian minister said that present-day Europe presents countries such as Austria and Yugoslavia with difficult tasks. Peace and detente are presently not threatened maybe, but constant efforts should be made to improve peace and detente, Peter Jankowitsch said, concluding that Yugoslavia and Austria share views on the forthcoming CSCE meeting in Vienna, which should offer a new contribution to improving circumstances in Europe.

Received by Mikulic

LD021300 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 2 Jul 86

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG) -- Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council, received in Belgrade today Austrian Foreign Minister Peter Jankowitsch. They discussed bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Austria and also the possibility of expanding further economic and scientific and technical cooperation, especially in connection with the Eureka project. Reference was also made to joint appearance on third markets. The two sides noted that national minorities must be a bridge of good-neighborly relations and friendship. Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of foreign affairs, also took part in the talks.

TANJUG CITES COMMENTARY ON SFRY-ALBANIAN TIES

LD031411 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1255 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] Belgrade, July 3 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia's readiness to make every effort and normalize relations with Albania was again expressed at the recent 13th LCY Congress, but the effort still seems to be futile, Radio Yugoslavia assesses in a commentary today. Albania continues to apply a double standard in its policy towards Yugoslavia by officially expressing the wish to promote bilateral relations, while continuing to support Albania separatists in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, the commentary says.

Yugoslavia's wish to cooperate with Albania on the internationally recognized principle is interpreted by Tirana as the setting of conditions for cooperation in the fields of water resources management, cultural exchanges and the opening of the Titograd-Shkoder railway line.

Tirana, of course, does not mention that an Albanian delegation simply walked out of the water resources management talks after its attention was called to the fact that the level of Albania's Fierza Dam was raised by over ten meters, despite the technical standards set in the existing agreement. This created a danger of flood for farmland in Yugoslavia, although a part of Yugoslav territory had already been flooded when the dam was under construction and no compensation was paid. The Albanian delegation, the Radio Yugoslavia commentary says, also walked out of talks on cultural cooperation only because a request was made that the Yugoslav minorities in Albania be granted the right, such as the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia already enjoys, to participate in interstate cultural exchanges. Instead, Tirana continues to instigate intolerance between the Albanian nationality and Yugoslav nations.

Albania's claim that the Yugoslav authorities have been postponing the opening of the Titograd-Shkoder railway line for political reasons is completely arbitrary, the commentary says. The reason lies simply in the fact that the section is not yet fully equipped for integration into the European railway system.

The line, which has no major economic significance for Yugoslavia, will be opened soon anyway, and passengers on the first train to the Yugoslav-Albanian border will include foreign correspondents specializing in the two countries' relations. It remains to be seen whether they will be allowed to cross over to Shkoder, noted Radio Yugoslavia in its commentary.

CANAK COMMENTARY DISCUSSES 10TH PZPR CONGRESS

AUO42012 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 July 86

[Branislav Canak commentary]

[Text] The 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw elected new leadership and established new directives of the course of the country's development. What are the basic characteristics of this development? Here is Branislav Canak:

The 10th PZPR congress is the first congress since the unscheduled ninth congress held 5 years ago. What appears to be only a statistical fact hides in fact an important political fact. This congress has ended one phase of the development of Poland which will undoubtedly determine the entire development and goals of Poland for some time. The beginning of that period was characterized by rather unarticulated wishes for changes of all kinds, wishes that basically came from three directions: from the weakened PZPR, from the then still undeveloped trade union Solidarity, and from the church. We say that some wishes were expressed but they did not have anybody to listen to them. The problem in Poland at that time was not the different interests but the lack of a magic democratic formula that would harmonize them. Extreme forces started to develop in Solidarity, but this lasted only until the war conditions of December 1981, when the trade union was pronounced illegal. This is how the phase in which the party could pay more attention to problem of strengthening its own role in the society, started and which has at this congress resulted in at least an impression that the PZPR is steering the country with full confidence again. [Word indistinct] changes, restorations, and reforms decorated the ninth unscheduled congress, but nothing could of course be implemented because behind all those things were various compromises between various sides.

Today, as we have said, the conditions are different. But other things have changed too. At the beginning of the year the 27th CPSU Congress was held in Moscow, at which many, including even some radical, reforms were announced. The fact that at this highest gathering of the Soviet Communists this was the way of looking toward the future while critically looking at the past, meant that in the entire socialist community certain processes could more or less start quicker.

This is why when Wojciech Jaruzelski demands new, even deeper reforms, this means that he is thinking primarily about those reforms that would pull ideas from, as he said in his speech, the historical achievements of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The consolidation of the party has not been completed yet, and according to Jaruzelski's words bureaucrats and all those who are not interested in anything represent a burden. Poland owes nearly half of the \$63 billion which the CEMA countries owe to the world. The deep reorganization and modernization of the economy have not been imposed in order to increase production, but so that debts can be repaid. At the congress this was frequently referred to as the need of the future and a need spurred by the scientific and technological development of the world. This makes the task, as it appears, that much more complex.

Let us say in the end that, judging from the press reports, this scheduled 10th congress in comparison with the unscheduled 9th congress heard the term real socialism before the term self-management, self-management understood to mean the Soviet concept of self-management of people that is why Jaruzelski, alluding presumably to 1980 and 1981, says that the current slogan, the self-managing Poland, is anarchosyndicalist and counterrevolutionary nonsense. This really sounds [word indistinct] because this kind of assessment could hardly be heard even at the Eighth PZPR Congress a few years ago.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL APPROVES ECONOMIC PLANS

LDO32153 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG) -- Under the chairmanship of Milos Milosavljevic, the Federal Executive Council held a session at which it approved several regulations within its competence.

The council set in motion an initiative for concluding a social compact on special measures which would ensure the implementation of the policy of more rapidly developing the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from 1986 to 1990. The compact is to be signed by Yugoslav Assembly, the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces, the Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy, and the Association of Yugoslav Banks.

In the draft compact it is envisaged, among other things, that the SFRY Assembly make conditions more favorable for the repayment of credits which organizations of associated labor in Kosovo have used from the federal fund for crediting the more rapid economic development of less developed republics and autonomous provinces, and which fall due in the period from 1987 to 1990. The Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy and the Association of Yugoslav Banks, for their part, would propose to the business and other banks measures for securing a certain amount of permanent working assets under the same conditions according to which credits are given for priority purposes. For certain projects the SFRY Assembly would examine the possibility of making credits available for meeting a part of the dinar obligations arising from foreign loans under more favorable conditions. Likewise, priorities are proposed for utilizing credits for importing equipment and spare parts which are not manufactured in Yugoslavia, as well as customs and other concessions for these imports.

The Federal Executive Council also approved three reports on the implementation of particular laws relating to the utilization of social funds.

In the report on the implementation of the law on the financial reorganization and liquidation of organizations of associated labor it is stated, among other things, that last year the number of basic organizations in the economy that were registering losses grew by 9.7 percent and numbered 2,369. Losses were contributed to by the high growth in the cost of business operations under conditions of pronounced inflation; the shortage of reproduction materials; the high level of indebtedness, interest rates, and exchange rate differences; the increase in allocations from income for general and joint consumption; low labor productivity; the inadequate utilization of capacities; and poor internal organization. Bankruptcy proceedings have been initiated in 108 cases and as a result, 2,165 workers are no longer employed. In this area too, the necessary measures will be taken following debate in the assembly.

The council approved the draft law on securing federations funds in order to increase the role of the SFRY in the capital of the International Finance Corporation.

By a change in the decision on the level of the rate of interest in arrears, the Federal Executive Council reduced this interest from 86 to 66 percent.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED TO SAWPY PRESIDIUM

AU251948 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 86 p 3

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Jun -- Between the last session of the Presidium of the Federal Conference, of the SAWPY, and this one, electoral conferences at which the new members of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY were elected have been held in Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Kosovo, and Slovenia. The new members of the Presidium of the Federal conference from Bosnia and Hercegovina are Mirko Ostojic, Veki Smailovic, and Kazimir Jelsic. From Montenegro the new member is Ramiz Bambur, and from the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP they are Dr Bozidar Colakovic and Bajram Selimi. Jozse Smole was elected from Slovenia. Mirjana Todorovic represents the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, while Rudi Kolak and Uros Bajic were elected from the Federation of Veterans' Association of Yugoslavia.

The Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY also discussed some cadre questions. Stojan Dimovski, secretary of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, was elected president of the Cadre Council Commission, the post that has been held up to now by Milan Uzelac.

STUDENT EDITOR DISMISSED FOR 'UNACCEPTABLE' IDEAS

AU011711 Paris AFP in English 1703 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Belgrade, July 1 (AFP) -- The editor of a student newspaper in Kragujevac in the Federal Republic of Serbia has been dismissed along with five of his colleagues for defending ideas considered 'unacceptable' by the authorities, the daily VETERNJE NOVOSTI reported here Tuesday. The newspaper, POGLEDI (VIEWPOINT), published by the University of Kragujevac, ran an interview with a well-known political oppositionist, Vladimir Mijanovic. Mr. Mijanovic led the 1968 student movement and in 1984 was the main defendant in a trial of six intellectuals accused of anti-state activities. But the charge against him was dismissed.

The newspaper, which had a circulation of about 2,000, was ordered pulped by the public prosecutor and a new edition was printed. But the editorial staff revealed the censorship by leaving one page blank opposite a picture of Mr Mijanovic, with the inscription: "leave a space."

COMMISSION FOR EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE MEETS

LD280416 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) -- Those employed in education, science, and in cultural areas are no less responsible than others for the economic crisis, the biggest sin which we carry in our arms at this congress, Nenad Ristic pointed out in the Commission for Education, Science, and Culture, which resumed its work today. According to him this problem has not been sufficiently dealt with. We cannot be proud of the fact that we are among the last in Europe according to funds allocated to these activities, but how can we persuade society that there is no money for science when it is obvious that scientists make numerous journeys to symposiums from Ohrid to Opatija. Also, Ristic said, we have witnessed the opening of quite a few new culture clubs which are closed soon after. All these are our little cultural obrovac [a well-known case of failed investment] cases.

Speaking about the satellite television, which is on our threshold, Ristic said that we were much more ready to accept its technological rather than program and cultural challenge. If we intend to accept the race with Europe in the area of video media, the LCY must be the initiator in linking the Yugoslav public in this area, in order to avoid having each radio and television center ask for its own, not all cheap, satellite.

The situation in health service varies from area to area, so that in some branches of medicine we have achieved a very high level of development, while in others, as in the mortality rate of babies, we are at the bottom of the European ladder, Dobraslav Ivkovic said. This is also the consequence of subjective shortcomings and not only of the lack of money.

Despite objective difficulties, subjective shortcomings and unemployment, in the area of upbringing and education of Romanies, certain results have recently been achieved. Two years ago the first efforts were made for Romany children in Pristina, Gnjilane, Titova Mitrovica, Urosevac, Prizren, Vuciturn, and Pec to study in their mother tongue in primary schools, Ali Kransnic said and illustrated this with numerous examples.

He cited that 4,350 members of the Romany nationality attended primary schools, 408 secondary schools, while over 100 Romanies are presently being educated and acquiring education in high schools and universities.

Saying that if we want a congress of change we should listen to young people, Jeranko Benedikt stressed that we needed leaders of a different type of know-how than yesterday and today and that it was necessary to break with the voluntaristic, rotational cadre policy in which know-how and expertise are not of crucial importance. We shall also have to, Benedikt stresses, learn to listen to those who think differently if we do not want to lose those who have always been the striking force of change, and they are young people.

Fuad Muhic dealt with the Marxist theory and anti-Marxist ideologies which in the time of crisis, according to him, have become widespread. Using the term "associated opposition" he stressed that its members were not so naive as to openly oppose the League of Communists. From time to time they would flatter individuals, granting them the epithet of "more liberal". This is where the lack of confidence among us comes from, Muhic believes, this is the cause of confused membership divided into the so-called European and Balkan parts.

This is why some do not see the existence of opposition, while others see it everywhere.

Jasmina Muratagic spoke about young people and an education which does not facilitate their employment, development, or life. She quoted the words of Comrade Tito that work should be done properly since young people are watching and listening.

Enver Baki spoke about the position of the Turkish minority in Kosovo, saying that there were problems in realizing constitutional rights, particularly regarding language and the alphabet, while the same cannot be said about information. Members of the Turkish nationality in Kosovo are concerned about the lack of Turkish language textbooks and teachers and some communists are not paying enough attention to this.

This congress should deal with more serious issues than the right-wing members of the Serbian Writers' Society, Oskar Davico said, thereby explaining his contribution to the discussion on the economic situation which then followed. According to him, the Writers' Society presently does not have more significance than would a society for the protection of dogs of (?Alsatian) breed.

In the continuation of the discussion he "returned to the issues of culture" and condemned protectors of academics of nationalistic tendencies.

Despite everything, Davico concluded, if this country did not exist it would be made from mud. It will exist as long as it has its young and old sons who defend it and respect the oath made to Tito that there will be no departure from his way.

Davico invited the congress to adopt a decision about punishing all officials who would disagree with decisions made, particularly those who are against the Chamber of Associated Labor, if we come out in favor of it in a plebiscite.

Through the prism of culture and civilization, Mirkovic said, many areas of life can be viewed, from behavior in public transport to international relations. Is it not, he said, that overindebtedness, getting rich, the lack of social solidarity or what is happening in Kosovo, present a severe infringement of the basic civilized and cultural norms? Here one can also include dogmatism and the lack of readiness for a dialogue which is clearly manifested in incorrect explanations of an essentially positive slogan "answering a book with a book".

Listening to the voice of the public is also an element of culture, Ljubisa Samardzic said. Therefore, we should pay tribute to all those who had open lists at elections, but election activity should have been part of all the party meetings so far. The Central Committee should have fought for such political culture.

Mihajlo Apostolski spoke about the history of writing the history of Yugoslavia, which has not been completed as of yet. Bureaucratic relations have brought historical science into a difficult position. Without general culture, the Yugoslav working class and socialist self-management cannot develop either.

Ideological-political training and Marxist education of young people, according to Sotir Kostov, is of considerable importance, but to young people Marxism in schools and at universities is presented in too idyllic terms.

Society is presented as already transformed, with great potential opportunities and more or less resolved problems.

In schools and at universities young people are presented with one-sided information, Kostov added, which incorrectly prepares them for life. This is the manifestation of conformism and of bureaucratic spirit. Marxism as it is presently taught presents a burden to a great number of pupils and students and it has very few points of contact with the practice of the socialist self-managing society of our country. Delegate Saliju Saib also spoke about this topic.

Veselinka Malinska spoke enthusiastically and in an inspired way about the culture of political life. "As regards the culture of political life and policy as a method of resolving social problems, priority should be given, above all, to wisdom: to that great and irreplaceable human capacity which unites knowledge and experience and possesses a sense of moderation, time, and space, links up history and the present, and can determine best of all how to tackle the future. It can be a characteristic of both the young and the old."

This wisdom exists among all people and in every country. It needs to be discovered and stimulated. Thus, I would add to the slogan "This country needs young people", "This country also needs wisdom".

"With both of these slogans, Yugoslavia, in its history, has had good experiences -- with young people in 1941 and with Tito in many of our victorious years."

The selection of cadres for work in scientific research institutes, according to the view of Azis Nijaz, is one of the most important factors of research work. Talented and capable young men should be discovered and guided at the earliest opportunity. This must be the aim of long-term cadre policy and then results are bound to follow.

Turning to the situation in the field of high school education, Marija Bakalovska noted that it is essential to construct a term policy in solving the problems of the student living standard because these problems have deeper economic and political effects on society. In Bakalovska's words, the living standard is always being equated with accommodation in halls of residences, refectory facilities, credits and grants, while the ideological side is neglected.

It has already become a practice that those who deal with historiography also deal with excesses, underlined Rene Lovrencic. The history of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities has not yet been written. It is being taught in an old-fashioned way, which effects the way of understanding and a critical approach to us as society, but not to others. Apart from that, Lovrencic said, it is sad that we have nothing to offer to foreign countries in this respect, despite the interests that some have showed.

In the intercongressional period everything to do with national romanticism was removed from primary and secondary schools' text-books. Efforts were made to coordinate educational programs with the needs of associated labor, claimed Drita Mehmeti. In her words, associated labor does not always plan according to its needs, which she assessed as irresponsible. She drew attention to the need that the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation and the LC in particular should tear the mask from teachers imbued with nationalism.

Kisic also proposed a congress of cultural creators of Yugoslavia which would, in the spirit of Tito's vision of brotherhood and unity and the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, contribute to efforts to produce a comprehensive program for becoming acquainted with culture and maintaining cultural contacts in Yugoslavia. This would be, concluded Kisic, a contribution to the implementation of the stands of the 13th and the most beautiful greeting to the 14th LCY Congress.

Before a break after this morning's discussion 100 delegates took the floor and another 16 are expected to take part in this afternoon's work.

The IC has frequently lost initiative and been a mere observer of cultural events, said Branko Prnjat, first speaker in this afternoon's discussion of this commission. Prnjat recalled poor assessments of the influence of mass culture on young people, and the domination of and production of contents of the lowest possible level and taste. The LC reacts here in a sluggish fashion, because the relationship between art and creativity has not yet been established.

After the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, nationalism and irredentism in Macedonia were most prominent in Tetovo. The situation is much better today, stressed Sadiku Dzemazije, though there are still instances of opportunism, above all in schools among teachers. She drew attention to the problem of the emancipation of the women of Albanian and Turkish nationalities, who, despite the fact that they are sharing the lot of insufficient sociopolitical involvement of Yugoslav women, are still under a strong influence of tradition.

Recalling that we have too long been satisfied with institutional forms, Marko Spadujer said that this congress should issue a call to action for overcoming a crisis with all the intellectuals ready to fight for the idea of self-managing socialism. Also welcome are those with good will, humanists, and all the rest except the ones who are up to their neck in nationalism and anti-communism, Spadijer said.

In contrast to other speakers, Novica Samardzic said that presuppositions on cultural isolationism and the breaking up of the Yugoslav cultural sphere were over-emphasized and that this was done by bureaucracy which strives to put everything under control and prescribe creativity, because it is intellectually not up to anything which is slightly more complicated.

Samardzic proved this by a claim that books published by any editor could be found in any part of the country, ascribing a possible narrow selection to the lack of interest on the part of bookshop managers. Stories about cultural isolationism are for Samardzic anachronistic also because a struggle is being waged in the world against cultural imperialism and for the preservation of authentic national creativity.

Delegate Josip Kosuta pleaded for cultural cooperation in Yugoslav territory, proposing that at least twice annually cultural problems should be reviewed at sessions of municipal LCY committees and by the LC as a whole.

Dragisa Ivanovic pointed out that it is impermissible for young people to be separated from and set in opposition to other generations, and that he disapproves of this, for their interests, tasks and efforts are common ones.

Opposition of young people to older generations is not a good thing, for older people are the root of every revolutionary movement, as long, of course, as they are on the right path, along the lines of the LCY and on Tito's course.

The state of affairs in musical culture is alarming, although one cannot think of a more civilized, and even more a self-managing country, without an appropriate musical culture. In musical schooling we are among the lowest-ranking in Europe, Vinko Sale asserted, illustrating this by numerous examples: Just in Serbia proper for instance, instead of the European norm of 120 music schools, there are only 38, and there is a shortage of at least 800 music teachers. This is all because of the fatal delusion on the part of the LC and society that musical culture has no influence upon the formation of young people.

Also taking part in the discussion were Husein Bakalovic, Vita Burnac, Draga Trubic, and Sanda Jancic.

(?Summing up) the 3 days of lively, but at time polemical, debate, commission chairman Stipe Suvar stressed that 111 delegates and (?guests) took part in the debate, and 6 submitted their discussions in written form.

This evening the commission members will adopt a report on their 3 days of work, which Silvija Zubic Rjacvec will submit to the congress tomorrow at the plenary session.

Delegates in the Commission for Education, Science, and Culture of the 13th LCY Congress adopted at about 2100 hours local time [1900 GMT] this evening the report which will be submitted to the congress tomorrow.

The proposed report was considerably improved in a relaxed, comradely, and constructive atmosphere, in the packed hall, after 3 days of work which lasted longer than planned because the number of those who wished to take the floor constantly increased.

Live speech replaced written reports, witticism took the place of rejoinders, and the good-natured approval of even serious criticism of the text bore witness to the unity of views on the problems and also on ways to overcome them.

Resolution on Cultural Tasks

LD281326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- The realization of the development goals of our society is inseparably bound to the development of culture as the content and mode of human life. The development of culture thus conceived, implies that working people, in controlling social reproduction as a whole, also control the circumstances of the ruling of this cultural life and development. This all demands that the League of Communists (LC) continue to stimulate and liberate the creative energy of working people in all areas of social life, it is stressed in the resolution on the tasks of the LCY in the development of culture.

In the transformation and self-managing organization of institutions and basic organizations in culture, it is essential to become more rapidly liberated from monopolistic tendencies and elitist prejudices about the extent to which culture is imperilled if working people and citizens are involved in the conduct of cultural policy.

There should also be liberation from the over-simplified reduction of self-managing linkage and agreement-reaching in the decisionmaking process about the narrowest and most specialized questions in the realization of a program of cultural activity.

In the coming period, organized subjective forces will direct their activity towards improving the material position of culture and its economic stability. The tendency up to now to seek solutions chiefly in an administrative manner by restrictive and short-term measures has not led, it is stated, to the economic stabilization of cultural activities, nor has it contributed to the integration of culture into social labor. The improvement of the material position of culture should be sought, it is stressed in the resolution, in the more organized direct linkage of cultural activities with all parts of associated labor.

The congress document pays appropriate attention to the role of the information media and publishing and to their obligations in the control of trash and in the affirmation of true cultural values. The LC stresses that, in view of the cultural and civilizing importance of the book, it is essential to strengthen activity in improving the social and economic position of libraries and publishing activity.

The autonomy of the socialist republics and provinces in the creation of the social and material conditions for the development of cultural activities has accelerated, it states, the expansion of scientific and art institutions, the organization of education and upbringing and institutions for information and cadres. Starting from the already created values and the importance of their contribution in the formation and development of a national and social consciousness, the development of productive forces and social relations, the LC stresses that it will continue, in the future as well, to base its cultural policy and practice on the equality of the nations and nationalities and their culture.

The free development of the creativity of all the nations and nationalities which live in Yugoslavia and realize their cultural emancipation, enriches our culture and makes it more varied. Togetherness in diversity is a vital term of reference of Yugoslav cultural identity and an important precondition for the development of the culture of all our nations and nationalities. It will be confirmed as our strong point in proportion to the extent to which we control the tendencies and phenomena of the isolation of culture within national and local frameworks and facilitate the linkage and interpenetration of our cultures and develop more fully the mutual exchange of cultural values and all other forms of cooperation. In the processes of building up a national consciousness, it is said in the resolution, a special place is taken up by the interpretation and valuing of cultural heritage, a field in which communists ought to be the champions and exponents of an objective scientific and Marxist valorization of this heritage.

The LCY, in its relation to the liberation of cultural creativity, as a process of the liberation of labor and man, has long since rejected narrow projections, pragmatic decrees and day-to-day political criteria. However, the struggle for a fuller development of cultural creativity has not been accompanied by a suitable critical valorization of what has been achieved, or an intensification of theoretical and critical insights into the essence of creative currents. To allow blind market forces to determine the conditions of operation in the field of culture, and to seek solutions exclusively in terms of administrative measures, would mean limiting the scope for expanding true cultural values and the development of creativity.

The LC, it continues, resolutely opposes the phenomena of antisocialist ideological and political activity under the mask of cultural, scientific and artistic creativity. "The struggle against these phenomena should not be reduced to administrative controls and intervention. In this the LC is not divesting itself of the right and duty to uncover the meaning of the political tendencies and appearances from antisocialist positions of those who try to use cultural creativity as a smokescreen for implanting such ideas and notions."

It is the duty of all LCY leaderships and organs, communist-creators, and all LC members, in their ideological activity in culture and interfering in aesthetic and specific questions of cultural and artistic creativity and not reducing it to the ideopolitical level, to devote greater attention to the development of ideological unity in the approach to creativity and, in particular, to the greater coordination and better linkage between their activities in this domain.

Appropriate attention in the resolution is also paid to the international cultural co-operation of Yugoslavia. It is stressed that our country and the LCY attaches great importance to cultural cooperation between countries and peoples because it contributes to their rapprochement and knowledge of each other. However, in our cooperation with the world, communists must more rapidly overcome weaknesses which have been present for a long time -- passivity, disorganization, submissiveness to alien standards and schemes, and lack of a critical attitude to various forms of indoctrination. These goals require the constant perfection of cadres for international cultural cooperation, it is stressed in the resolution on the tasks of the LCY in the development of culture.

Resolution on Education

LD281641 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- The 13th LCY Congress proceeds from the view that education and upbringing are vital factors in the realization of our society's development strategy, its class socialist self-management content, the improvement and liberation of human labor, the values of socialist society, its civilization and culture, and the comprehensive development of the personality.

In view of this, the congress resolution on the LCY tasks in realizing the ideological bases of the socialist self-managing transformation of education and upbringing stresses the need for action to overcome weaknesses more rapidly and to implement consistently the ideological bases of the transformation of the process of education and upbringing. This activity should focus on the more rapid development of science and technology. Dynamic scientific and technological progress is constantly accompanying changes in the economic, social, and qualification structure of the employed, and human work is increasingly being intellectualized. The need arises therefore, for educating and constantly perfecting the general profile of cadres with a developed specialist and general culture. Special attention should be devoted to the education of these cadres. On these bases a more consistent implementation of the social decisions on the development of a more flexible and modern form and method of vocational education is needed, one which will be appropriate for the needs of associated labor and personal capacities, or rather, on a strategy of reliance on one's own forces.

This means, the resolution stresses, that the existing solutions for the reform of upbringing and education must be improved in a critical manner. The LC requires that measures to implement the transformation of education and upbringing be backed up by professional and scientific knowledge, and that voluntarism and localist, and technocratic pressures should be eradicated.

Workers in associated labor must assume responsibility for education and general cadre reproduction in their organizations, and thereby responsibility for their own future and social security, and that of their children as well. Without this, the transformation of education and upbringing cannot progress on the set ideological bases.

In the period ahead, attention must be focused upon improving the quality of agreement-making and contracting between equal subjects and the free exchange of labor, not only on the extent, quality, and price of services but also on the conditions for realizing these. The LC underlines that systemic measures and sociopolitical measures within the free exchange of labor must be implemented to halt the further fall of and gradually to raise the part played by, education and upbringing in the national income.

The problem of impermissibly low incomes for education workers, particularly those in primary and secondary vocational education, must be resolved most rapidly by adequate economic policy measures. All social forces must likewise be involved in improving pupil and student standards. Communists advocate, the resolution states, that the standard of pupils and students should depend as directly as possible upon the results attained in learning and studying.

Special obligations await the LC in strengthening the scientific Marxist foundations of the entire process of upbringing and education and in promoting the ideoeducative and cultural function of the school and faculty. Communists must engage more intensively and in a more organized way in matters of ideoeducative work in the ranks of the young, and must train the young to better understand, master, and further develop the values and achievements of the socialist self-managing society. At the same time they will befit themselves to successfully resist those who try to impose an ideology that is at odds with the program guidelines of the LCY and society. Of particular importance is unified ideoeducational activity by all social protagonists in forming the views of young people and others, befitting them to understand our past, present, and future and critically exposing the glorification of myths, nationalistic illusions, and unitarist or separatist ideas and conduct.

In the sphere of upbringing and education, too, the LC will fight against every form of isolationism within the framework of the nation, republic, or province, as well as against all forms of unitarism and majoritarianism. Communists insist on implementing the content of the joint program nuclei that have already been adopted for the pre-school, primary, and the joint bases of secondary vocational education, and upon further improving and adopting joint program nuclei for secondary vocational education and upbringing. Interfaculty cooperation should be implemented to continue and expand the coordination of teaching plans and programs of homogenous studies.

The LC will work to enhance the social prestige of the teaching profession and will seek from it, as well as from pupils and students, greater responsibility for the effectiveness of overall upbringing and educational work.

Resolution on Human Freedoms

LD281802 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 28 Jun 86

["13th LCY Congress -- Resolution on the LCY Tasks Aimed at Realization of Human Freedom, Rights, and Responsibilities" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- The degree of the realization of the rights and freedoms of citizens is one of the fundamental criteria for assessing the overall results achieved in socialist development. For the LCY, this is not only a program goal and inspiration, but also the basis of practical activity.

This is one of the main stands of the resolution on the realization of the freedoms, rights, and responsibilities of a man and a citizen in the socialist self-managing system.

The document draws attention to the principle whereby there cannot be socialism without human freedom, or true freedom in the modern world without a struggle for the realization of socialist society. The fate of socialism must depend on its ability to overcome all forms of the alienation of personality and create a basis for social solidarity which negates the class division of society, the exploitation of man, and all forms of domination over him.

The meaning, social character, and true dimensions of human rights freedoms, the document points out, are determined above all by the position of man in labor and productive relations, while socialist self-management is progress to the extent to which it contributes to the emancipation of labor and the realization of human freedom. Human rights and freedoms in self-management cannot be and are not the product of the system, the resolution goes on, but its foundation, its historical meaning, and the purpose of all development toward the realization of the social and national interests of working people and citizens, and the full equality of nations and nationalities.

The LCY can realize its role in this process only through constant struggle for the implementation of the principle whereby human rights and freedoms are limited to human responsibility to respect the freedom and right of a fellow human being, which also implies a continual struggle against all violations of these principles and against those who violate them.

Proceeding from the fact that human freedom will always need an organized and guided social action, the LCY will realize its vanguard role by drawing attention to the working class and all working people of the means, forms and ways of achieving freedom, because their emancipation can only be of their own making.

Experience gained so far in the development of socialism confirms that the historical orientation for the development of socialism, though not radically changing the socioeconomic position of man, does not automatically ensure a higher quality of human rights and freedoms. Experience also shows that there is no possibility for realizing and promoting human rights and freedoms without the active role of man in decisionmaking on all the fundamental social issues, in other words, without a self-managing freedom to decide about the conditions, means, and fruits of his own labor, and likewise the conditions in which he is living and working.

Proceeding from the notion that the realm of the most important freedoms and rights (to self-manage, work with social resources, distribute his own income, etc) is realized in socioeconomic realtions, the resolution stresses that the LCY must insist consistently and continually on realization, protection, and social reaffirmation of these freedoms and rights.

Every bureaucratic-etatist and arbitrary management of means and results of labor and the usurpation and expropriation of the rights of the working man and citizen represents a barrier to the realization of the historic aims and must be condemned most severely by the political action of the LCY and eliminated by law.

The LCY constantly must develop the responsibility of its members, organizations, and organs for the realization of the right to self-management in all its aspects and any usurpation of these rights must be considered a most severe political and moral violation in society. For LC members, such a violation must bring with it the most severe moral, political responsibility.

The insufficiently energetic, systematic, and overall activity of the LC in the development of self-managing rights and duties has affected, it says, the expression of the weaknesses of other organs directly responsible for the realization of human freedoms and rights and the insufficiently energetic removal of negative phenomena.

Confirming the special significance of the full freedom of expression of nationality and the multinational community of Yugoslavia, the resolution stresses that any form of discrimination on the basis of nationality, any form of national intolerance and pressure, and any form of and attempt at endangering our federal system -- which is particularly expressed in the pressures of the Albanian irredentists in Kosovo -- is contrary to the freedom and rights of the individual and the citizen.

The condition for realizing all rights is the full performance of duties in accordance with the Constitution. Among the duties that are inseparable from the realization of any form of human rights and freedoms whatsoever, as the most sacred right and duty of SFRY citizens, is the defense of the fatherland, it says.

The resolution stresses that in organizing and realizing rights and freedoms, the equal position of men should not be brought into question, nor should the realization of rights and duties throughout the whole of the territory of the SFRY, in which the republics, provinces, and municipalities have special responsibility, be restricted. The LCY advocates the lasting and consistent implementation of the principles of the solidarity and responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and that of the community as a whole.

Because of the spread of manipulation and the abuse of freedoms and rights in this time of crisis, the LCY will be advocating the more rapid development of human, democratic, freedom-loving, and equality-based contents in the relations of interhuman solidarity in society with ideological means and widespread social action, which will reduce the scope for the abuse of rights and freedoms, and thus also the need for the use of force. In socialist society, it stresses, there can be no freedoms for the enemies of freedom.

It is stressed that nothing can justify the abuse of public office in the organs of power and in other organs and that in the LC, there cannot be who acquire riches by exploiting alien labor, by speculating, and abusing their position.

Urging all LC members, organizations, and organs to fight consistently for the realization of rights and duties, the resolution ends with the message that any undermining of the freedoms and rights of the individual is, at the same time, an attack on the programmatic goals of the LCY and is unconnected with the social role and tasks of the LC member and all his organizations.

Resolution on Role of Youth

LD181800 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- The LC proceeds from the perception that the continuity and future of the socialist revolution crucially depends on the extent to which the young are the exponents and creators of their ideas and goals, and the extent to which they participate in the construction and realization of the historical interests of the working class. The young generation can become a revolutionary subject, stated the resolution "LC Tasks in the Implementation of the Social Role of the Young Generation," only if there is full scope for its own critical thinking about the world of socialism and our self-managing reality.

Communists must be in the forefront helping young people to wage a battle for their self-managing social consciousness and involvement, proceeding from the fact that the interests and problems of the young are the interests and problems of society as a whole.

Stating that the young generation, and especially one or two parts of it, is being adversely affected by the difficult socioeconomic situation, by social tensions and characterized by crisis in the sphere of politics, morals, and overall social consciousness, it is assessed in the resolution that the ambitions of young people go significantly beyond what is given and inherited. It depends on the LC and other factors of socialist consciousness whether, and to what extent it will realize its revolutionary being, because young people can do much, but they cannot change the world by themselves. Proceeding from this, the LC must expand the involvement of the young in socialist self-management and the involvement of larger numbers of young people in the LC leadership -- from basic organizations to the LCY Central Committee.

The section of the revolution on ideological trends among young people stressed that the progressiveness of the young generation cannot be assumed in advance, since, in the conditions of the current crisis, it can often end up as radicalism, which is not always progressive. The LC cannot reconcile itself to the fact that a section of the young are living in apathy, with a feeling of powerlessness and no hope; they must have initiative and must speed up those actions of the young in which they will affirm their values and make their own impact on the mainstream of society. We should not allow a section of the young, because of serious difficulties in self-management and in the sphere of morals and social life, to reject self-management itself and seek alternatives elsewhere under the influence of conservative forces and their ideologies. Since nationalism is the most dangerous expression of these forces the LC must act clearly in each situation and expose the social causes and consequences of nationalism.

The LC sees unemployment primarily as an economic, social, class and political problem which, despite great efforts and the results achieved has become increasingly exacerbated in the last few years.

Solving this problem is not only the responsibility of the environment in which it occurs but it is a priority task for society as a whole, the resolution stressed. It can be realized, above all, by dynamic economic development and the strengthening and expansion of the material basis of labor. All solutions that act as an obstacle to the more rapid productive employment of young people should be removed, and solutions should be forthcoming which stimulate self-managing integration and the free mobility of labor and social resources on the unified market.

The orientation towards greater employment can be attained only if each new job is taken by the most qualified cadres, those who are capable of expanding production and of increasing income and productivity. This requires that measures and criteria for accepting workers, including the necessity of taking on trainees, be respected throughout the basic organizations of associated labor. A decisive struggle must be initiated against the widespread appearance of the misuse of competitions for jobs, privatization and other deformations in employment.

After noting that solving the housing problems of the young and improving the position of young people in the village, are among the priority tasks of the LC, the resolution stated that education and upbringing is a crucial question which to a very great degree, predetermines one's entry into life, work and the overall prospects of the young. In order to implement reform goals, it went on, the most important thing is to project long-term cadre needs, because without this the educational system cannot know what specialists are required and students cannot know what jobs to aim for. The LC, with others in society, must quickly find solutions to harmonize the process of upbringing and education with the needs and requirements of associated labor, especially on the question of cadre planning. At the end of this section, it said that the position of students is of primary importance for the overall development of this position on a united ideological and socioeconomic bases. They must reflect and support the requirements of productive and social integration throughout the country and facilitate the free flow of knowledge and experience through reliance on common scientific and cultural achievement.

The basic contents of the Marxist view of nature and society, the resolution stressed, must be built into the overall education and upbringing process. There is a need to remove more rapidly the weaknesses that appear in this process and to liberate it from the dogmatic and, in essence, non-Marxist approach to the study of Marxism. In this connection the contents of the subject of basic Marxism and socialist self-management should be improved -- in other words, special attention should be devoted to the more successful work of youth political schools.

The lasting orientation of the LC is the rejuvenation of its ranks which, at the same time, means that criteria for accepting young people into the LC must be developed and applied more consistently. It is the duty and responsibility of the municipal committees and the basic LC organizations the document said to develop permanent and direct cooperation and activity among young people. However, Communists must fight for the inclusion of young people in SAWP, the trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations, they must fight for the understanding that without their full voice there can be no democratic debate. The same approach must prevail in workers councils, delegations and assemblies.

This involvement of the young requires the consistent realization and development of the Yugoslav socialist youth federation which should reflect, in its entirety, all the different interests of the working, cultural, and living preoccupations of the young generation. The LCY will offer full support for the development of the Yugoslav socialist with federation as a united and mass, sociopolitical and educational organization in which, as the broadest democratic front of young people, the aspirations and the creativity of young people are expressed and channelled in a socialist self-managing direction, it said in the final section of the resolution.

REPORTAGE ON 28 JUN CONGRESS PLENARY SESSION

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["13th LCY Congress: Plenary Session and Reports From the Commissions" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- The beginning of the third plenary session of the 13th LCY Congress was devoted to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Djuro Djakovic, the legendary fighter and leader of the Yugoslav party and movement.

The delegates to the 13th LCY Congress today elected the LCY's top bodies -- the Central Committee, the Commission for statutory issues and the Supervisory Commission. All the candidates received the necessary two-thirds majority of votes. The report on the elections was presented by Ali Sukrija, chairman of the Commission for the Election of the LCY Organs of the 13th LCY Congress.

The total of 1694 delegates of 98.77 percent of the 1715 present delegates took part in the voting. The commission has established that in the election of the Central Committee only one ballot paper was invalid while at the election for the Supervisory and Statutory Commission two ballot papers each were found to be invalid. Sukrija informed the delegates that 14 new names were added to the list of candidates for the Central Committee; 2 of these received 2 votes each and 12 1 vote each.

Ali Sikrija congratulated the newly elected members of the LCY top bodies and wished them great success in their work.

In the course of the third plenary session, which is being presided over by Radisa Gacic, the delegates heard the reports on the work of the six congress commissions.

The LC has a task to mobilize the working class and all working people in the economy and society into a determined action in order to bring about major changes needed for pulling out of the crisis. This is the key assessment of the report on the work of the Congress Commission for the Development of the Socioeconomic relations of Socialist self management and for the economic, Scientific and Technological Developments. The report was adopted by the delegates at the third plenary session of the congress. On behalf of the commission in whose work over 600 delegates took part (126 took part in the debate and another 106 delegates submitted their writtern contributions) the report was presented by Stefan Korosec.

The commission was unanimous -- the report says -- in calling for the consistent implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization with full observance of the laws of commodity production and the world market criteria.

It is stated that the ideopolitical differences in our people's views about the main causes of the instability have, to a considerable extent, been clarified while the awareness of and confidence in our own resources, know-how, and working people's creative power and the need for introducing modern technology have been enhanced. However, the report warns, owing to high inflation and low efficiency in the economic activity there still exists a threat of new crisis situations and exacerbation of the difficulties.

As regards the high level of unemployment the report urges all those responsible for making decisions in society and the workers in jobs, in particular, to assume an active attitude to the problem. The report also warns of the fact that very often the market mechanisms and criteria are replaced by administrative voluntarism all of which reduces people's responsibility for the results and for the consequences of the decisions they passed.

The report goes on to stress that since our economy is going through a stage where it is being transformed from an extensive to the intensive type of economic activity, efficiency in conducting economic policy is all the more important. It is untenable that some of the economic measures which failed to produce expected results are not being changed.

The price policy, the credit-monetary and tax policies as well as other terms of the economic activity have not been coordinated -- the report stresses -- with the tasks and demands of the long-term program of economic stabilization. They also fail to reflect the market criteria. Any form of local, republican and provincial insularity must be eliminated in an uncompromising manner in order to speed up the integration of work organizations into large technical-technological systems. The sole alternative for further developing social activities is to provide conditions for an upsurge in the free and direct exchange of labor and to end the parafiscal way of financing work organizations.

The creative potential of self-management and its advantages, the report emphasizes, have to be reaffirmed through a more qualitative, dynamic and coordinated economic, scientific, cultural, social and political development. Know-how and its proper evaluation are a vital prerequisite for changing the quality of our development and for a timely response to the trends of the present-day scientific and technological revolution and the economic development in the world. An end must be put to the practice of socializing inefficiency in business and losses and shifting the blame for one's own failure on society.

The commission urges communists to stop underestimating small businesses and to help create all the necessary conditions for the development of this sector both in overall economy and as a personal initiative.

The report also states that to increase exports is not solely a task resulting from the obligation to repay foreign debts but is also a condition of sound development, of increasing production and investment and thus of resolving the problem of unemployment. The report also gives support to the policy of the realistic exchange rate of the dinar.

The report goes on to note that in the course of the debate in the commission's work criticism was voiced of the LC organs and functionaries and calls made for establishing their specific responsibility for the realization of the adopted stance. The delegates insisted particularly on establishing the responsibility for failed investments. The need was stressed on several occasions for creating conditions for a more even development throughout the country. Delegates also insisted that greater attention be paid to human environment and called for a more critical stand against all the forms of environmental pollution.

A number of participants in the debate stressed the need for consulting the widest possible section of the public when deciding on the use of nuclear technology.

The debate dwelt extensively on the current problems encountered in the development of agriculture. Particular attention was devoted to the problems affecting individual private farmers. Several proposals were put forward for improving the situation in agriculture, particularly in the sphere of the policy of bank loans.

Denunciations were expressed of unacceptable differences in personal incomes which are not a result of work while particular criticism was directed at the process of disintegration in society which does not reflect the work performed. The delegates demanded an end to this practice and to the deviations at all levels.

In conclusion the report stresses that the delegates support the Federal Executive Council's determined action in halting the unfavorable trends and realizing the tasks and goals of the economic stabilization.

The consolidation of working-class revolutionary unity and a more consistent struggle of the SFRY -- the self-managing free community of equal nations and nationalities -- is the only prospect of our survival and development. In this respect it is necessary to have a radical change in the overall activity of the LC to speed up the way out of the crisis by developing socialist self-management and the true power of the working class. This is the gist of the report on the work of the Commission for the Ideopolitical, Organizational and Cadre Activity of the LCY and for the Statute, which was submitted by Jakov Lazaroski. About 350 delegates and guests participated in the 3-day work of the commission; 88 took the floor, and 19 submitted written contributions.

They carried out a critical analysis and assessment of the realization of the leading ideopolitical role of the LC in society, especially as regards the implementation of the stabilization program and efforts to resolve the accumulated problems and shortcomings. Within this framework, the delegates pointed out that the LC bears a considerable part of responsibility for the situation in society.

The sharpest criticism was voiced over statism, nationalism, separatism, technocracy and all the tendencies of isolationism, from the basic organizations of associated labor to the republics and provinces. Nothing disintegrates Yugoslavia more than isolationism which was assessed as not coming from workers, but from various technocrats and bureaucrats at all the levels.

In keeping with Tito's demands, communists are expected to be in the front line, responsible and consistent, and also to reaffirm their words by their deeds. Communists explicitly demanded the consolidation of the ideological and action unity of the LCY, as the basic factor of the successful implementation of the leading role of the LCY, the further development of self-management and the consolidation of the power of the working class, equality and the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities.

To develop the unity of the LCY we must primarily proceed from the LCY Central Committee and its executive organs, which must be the true ideopolitical revolutionary factor in the integration of the working class and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. According to the report, a newly-elected Central Committee must ensure the uniform activity of the entire LCY by its political stands, decisions and organized action.

Within this context the delegates spoke critically about the federalization of the LCY. It manifests itself in the bureaucratic interpretation of the independence of the republican and provincial LC's, the different interpretation and realization of the basic aims of the policy, opportunistic approach to the conclusions of the LCY organs, to the extent of their being by-passed, ignored and not being implemented.

The report warned of the danger of bureaucratic-centralist tendencies and consciousness which aspires to hard-line policy and monolithic attitude without democracy. Its advocates call in question not only the independence of the republican and provincial LC's, but also their *raison d'être*, which must be resolutely opposed.

Stress was laid on a demand for the reaffirmation and consistent application of democratic centralism at all the levels of organization, from the basic organization to the LCY Central Committee. Departures from its essence and inconsistencies in its implementation make possible the penetration of various deformities, especially in connection with carrying out policy and tasks.

The ideological struggle is insufficiently organized and more defensive and campaign-like, calling for the need for an uncompromising ideological struggle and resolute opposition to nationalism. In this respect one must have a uniform approach to these phenomena in all the environments. The delegates were also unanimous in their demand for further vigorous action of the LC against Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo which must include a speedier and more resolute differentiation. A demand was also voiced for the consistent realization of the platform on Kosovo and the established progress of the LC and other socialist forces in Kosovo and further afield. This is the only way to ensure mutual trust and brotherhood and unity in Kosovo, and to stabilize political and social relations in the province. This would speed up the elimination of causes of the emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrins under duress and create conditions for their speedier return, the report of the commission stresses.

Thirty two amendments to the draft resolution and 96 amendments to the draft amendments and addenda to the statute were submitted in this commission.

The development and consistent implementation of the uniform strategy of the scientific and technological development of Yugoslavia, rational planning and the realization of scientific-technical cooperation with industrially developed and developing countries, radical changes in the socioeconomic position and the institutional conditions in this sphere, in direction of exploring its productive, creative and humanitarian character, are the fundamental and urgent tasks of the LCY in the next planning period.

This is the central stand in a report on the work of the commission for ideological questions in education, science and culture, in which out of the total of 257 delegates and a considerable number of guests, 117 took the floor, 6 submitted written contributions and 36 submitted amendments.

Submitting her report on the commission's work at the plenary session, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec stressed the broad discussion reflected unity in establishing the main guidelines for further development of education, upbringing, science and culture, as the basic factors of the material, cultural and general social development.

At the same time delegates spoke in favor of a more intensive development of Marxist-based scientific research on Yugoslav reality; the basing of social life in general and the process of decisionmaking on scientific analyses and achievements and for the wider application of the revolutionary practice of the LC scientific results and the theoretic Marxist thought.

The delegates unanimously agreed on the need for the greater involvement of the LC and all the socialist forces in the resolute, organized and consistent struggle for the realization of the basic LC principles on raising the quality of socialist self-managing transformation in education and upbringing. A demand was voiced for faster standardization of the conditions of education and upbringing in all Yugoslav environments and for the reaffirmation of the principles of solidarity and reciprocity at the country level.

One central questions focused on unity and fellowship in the system and policy of education and upbringing. It was noted that -- in the past -- the educational system, because of different degrees of dynamism in the realization of reform in socialist republics and autonomous provinces, created unnecessary differences and failed to implement social contracts in this sphere, hence additional efforts are needed on the part of the LC and all other organized forces to overcome such a situation.

It is indispensable to carry out a resolute struggle for greater unity in the system of upbringing and education in Yugoslavia, because this is the guarantee of the realization of Tito's idea on self-management and on the realization of brotherhood and unity. The LC must strongly oppose unjustified differences in educational programs, plans and textbooks.

Emphasis is also laid on the consequences of the indoctrination of pupils and students in Kosovo with foreign ideology and a strongly-worded demand was voiced for the speedier and more consistent implementation of the political platform on Kosovo and all the measures and tasks which resulted from it.

The delegates also demanded a speedier overcoming of the treatment of education as part of social production and the creation of conditions for increasing the participation of education in the national income. Special attention was drawn to the fact that the employment of young specialized cadres is a basic prerequisite for the realization of the reform of upbringing and education.

In the discussion on questions of culture the participants stressed this sphere should not be treated as a separate subject but as a component part of socialist productive relations. Without the cultural progress it is impossible to encourage self-managing processes as the class-liberation ones. The realization of LC program orientations in the sphere of cultural creativity, including its freedom, was seriously called in question because of the neglect of the material status of cultural activities.

It was also noted that one of the unavoidable tasks of the LC in the field of cultural and artistic creativity is to find new, more modern, subtle and effective methods of ideological activity. It is very important here to manifest a higher degree of militant behavior to oppose all antisocialist and anticommunist stands and views, nationalist and dogmatic in particular, and to overcome all forms of opportunism in the ideological struggle.

A few delegates warned of topical problems in physical training, sport and sport recreation. Negative assessment was made of the practice which allows us to spend more time in talking and writing about specific excesses and failures, while we pay less attention to fostering and developing the educational, training, health and defense values of physical training.

The 13th LCY Congress delegates unanimously adopted the report of the Commission for the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management, submitted to today's session by Ivan Brigic.

The entire debate at the commission had been inspired by critical attitudes to the problems and weaknesses in the functioning of the political system and by the uniform demand to switch without delay to specific formulation and implementation of normative solutions that would strengthen the power of the working class and self-management. Demands and proposals by most of the membership and the public for efficient and comprehensive action aimed at changing the situation, behavior and institutional solutions that had not been confirmed in social practice were expressed. Essential assessments and proposals contained in the Critical Analysis as well as the results of the public debate that had received the necessary backing were given a fresh impetus. The delegates demanded that the implementation of these proposals be started as soon as possible.

The unanimous assessment was that the basic constitutional principles and fundamental orientations that express the revolutionary achievements of our socialist society cannot be changed. However, the delegates firmly demand that the discrepancy between those principles and the practice in the decision-making process and functioning of the institutions of the political system should be reduced.

The crucial question is how to put an end to statist tendencies and how to incorporate efficient barriers against such tendencies into the system. It was stressed that the LC and the institutions in which it operates are not beyond dealing with statism. A comprehensive program of measures is, therefore, needed to free society from statist constraints.

It is not the pluralism of self-managing interests that is to blame for autarky, disintegration of the working class, fragmentation of social property and pushing the delegate system into the sidelines, but the fact that it is being curbed by state-property monopoly. Institutions and mechanisms of the political system must be, therefore, much more in the service of training all subjects in business activity in line with the law of the economy and the market, instead of being under state patronage.

The delegates pointed out the need for a more resolute struggle to reaffirm the work organization's constitutional role, to make composite organizations of associated labor fit for action, to achieve better business results and greater development and to achieve linking up and integration of broader forms on the basis of specific programs. A considerable number of critical assessments were heard about the fact that workers' roles in associated labor in pursuing the cadre policy was not sufficiently carried out in practice. The LC, it was stressed, must bear the responsibility for the implementation of the adopted principles of the cadre policy and for the prevention of phenomena of splinter-group activity, sectarianism, manipulations and other deformations in this sphere.

The most dangerous form of bureaucratic monopoly, the report says, is the monopoly of individual political centers, in particular of executive and administrative state organs as regards the representation of national interests as a whole. Such monopolies wreck and demolish the multinational community. On the other hand, there is also the demand to implement efficiently those state functions that are directed towards protecting and advancing self-managing social relations, that express the state's working class essence.

The disintegration of the Yugoslav community, cases of separatist isolationism as well as unitarist endeavors are subjected to severe criticism. What is crucial for the implementation of the federation's constitutional concept, is the influence of the working class and associated labor, based on self-management, in implementing common interests. Economic as well as normative preconditions have to be created to achieve the decisive influence of associated labor in the assembly system and prevent fragmentation and autarchy in particular in large systems.

Emphasis was laid on implementing the constitutional position of the SR of Serbia as a composite sociopolitical community and of the relations in it because this represents a fundamental element of realizing the constitutional concept of Yugoslav federalism. Stances about creating relations on which unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia are based were endorsed. The demand was voiced that they be consistently implemented.

It is the delegates' unanimous view that normalizing the deeply disrupted international relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is one of the LCY's most important tasks, the solution of which allows no delay. The main task of the LCY and of the Serbian LC, and above all of the Kosovo LC, is to create conditions that would halt the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins and prevent the irredenta's goals about ethnically pure Kosovo from being realized. The program of measures and activities adopted by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Presidency should be strictly implemented.

There was critical assessment of the phenomena of undermining constitutionality and legality.

The debate at the sessions of the Commission for International Cooperation of the LCY and Foreign Policy of the SFRY manifested full unity and resolve to continue to confirm, through all international LCY and SFRY activity and deeds, the continuity of our strategic orientations in international relations and foreign policy, which we established and successfully implemented together with Tito for decades.

The debate also stressed that in the future, Yugoslavia's international position and prestige in the world would depend mostly on the extent to which we successfully resolve outstanding problems of our internal, self-managing economic and social development.

In submitting the report on the work of the commission to the plenary session, Dr Stanislav Stojanovic stated that the debate confirmed Yugoslavia's lasting orientation toward the policy of nonalignment as an expression of its internal socioeconomic and political identity and irreplaceable strategy of safeguarding and defending our independence. New incentives for the Nonaligned Movement are expected to come from the summit in Harare, which would direct its activity even more toward actions and make it even more effective.

The commission noted with great concern that the confrontation between superpowers and blocs and the continued arms race, in particular nuclear, represent a dangerous threat to world peace. In this context, the need to strengthen the role and efficiency of the UN as the broadest democratic forum for mutual negotiations was stressed.

The delegates sounded a warning about many unforeseeable dangers that also arise from peaceful uses of nuclear energy as has been confirmed by recent accidents in nuclear power plants.

In this context, backing was given to the fundamental orientations of social movements advocating preservation of world peace and protection of human environment.

The need was stressed to eliminate crisis hotbeds in individual parts of the world that are gravely weighing down international relations and seriously threatening world peace. Concern was voiced about the worsening situation in the Mediterranean among other things. Resolute and urgent international sanctions were demanded against the racist regime in South Africa.

The delegates condemned all aspects of international terrorism and demanded that resolute measures be taken to eliminate its causes.

Great attention was paid in the debate to the crisis in international economic relations. Particular reference was made to the problems of overindebtedness of a large number of developing countries. The delegates endorsed the view that the only real way out of the present crisis in world economic, trade and financial relations was to change them fundamentally and to create a new international economic order. In this context, they stressed the need to take concrete, urgent measures to swiftly expand our economic cooperation with developing countries within the framework of our economic relations with the world.

One of the main subjects of the debate was also Yugoslavia's cooperation with neighboring countries and the promotion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans. The delegates explicitly emphasized Yugoslavia's lasting orientation to develop comprehensive cooperation with all neighboring countries on well-known foundations. Friendly cooperation with neighbors, based on the concept of the policy of open borders, is one of the most important priorities in our foreign policy, it was stated in the debate. The conviction was also voiced that national minorities could and must be an important constructive factor in bringing peoples and states closer together and in developing good-neighborly cooperation.

The delegates pointed to the positive experiences in cooperation with individual neighboring countries, but also to the existing controversial and unresolved issues in our relations with some of our neighbors. This refers in particular to denying the existence of the Macedonian national minority in neighboring countries and the identity of the Macedonian nation in general, as well as to periodic manifestations of even territorial aspirations toward Yugoslavia.

The commission in particular analyzed the existing problems of socialism and the workers' movement and pointed out that the seriousness and nature of the problems that socialist forces face today, imposes an even greater need for their closer, mutual and equitable cooperation, for which the LCY would work in the future.

Corresponding attention was also paid to the democratization and socialization of our foreign policy. It was assessed that significant results had been achieved in this respect. But, it was also pointed out that fuller mutual information, intensified responsibility and greater coordination of activity by all participants in our international cooperation to implement consistently jointly established uniform foreign policies of the SFRY, are needed.

It is the assessment of the 13th LCY Congress that since the 12th Congress a significant breakthrough has been achieved in the practice of all-people's defense.

Even in unfavorable socioeconomic conditions, we have ensured the continuity of successful defense preparations, complemented and perfected the defense and protection system and increased the ability of society for defense from armed aggression and other forms of external and internal threats. This was stressed by Simeon Buncic in presenting to the plenary session the report of the Commission for the Issues of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, in the work of which 180 delegates took part. Fifty-one delegates spoke in the debate.

The speakers stressed that the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection, as founded by Tito, represented our lasting orientation and the only possible reply to all challenges and threats to the independence and security of the SFRY under the present circumstances. Efforts undertaken to complement and perfect the doctrine and system of defense and self-protection in line with the changes were fully endorsed.

The 13th LCY Congress pointed out that the dangers of the security of Yugoslavia are on the increase because of the worsening of the international situation as well as because of complex, critical internal circumstances.

The crisis in international relations has become a permanent feature and, therefore, the issue of war and peace is today increasingly raised as an issue of relations between crisis and war. The special war is assuming global dimensions and is being waged with growing intensity against the SFRY, along with more explicit reliance on the internal enemy.

The interests of defense and security of society demand swifter and more efficient resolution of very exacerbated and accumulated economic, ideopolitical and social problems. Our intensified internal difficulties have been conducive to the activation of hostile forces and their increasingly more organized and aggressive activity.

The 13th LCY Congress warned of the great dangers arising from intensified nationalistic and statist bureaucratic tendencies and, on this basis, the increasingly present processes and phenomena of autarchy, isolationism and favouritism for individual interests at the expense of the general social interest. Yugoslavia, as the common homeland of all our nations and nationalities, and working people and citizens, and of every one of its part in particular, can develop, protect and defend itself only by common efforts and in conditions of unity of the LCY, of leaderships and all organized socialist forces of the country. Experiences derived from the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo demonstrate in the best possible way the extent to which nationalism acts destructively on the identity of our multinational community and thus also on the vitality and efficiency of the defense.

The debate pointed out the need to further strengthen the unity of all forces of the all-people's defense and social self-protection on the uniform area of Yugoslavia, the unity of the concept and of the doctrine on the deployment of Armed Forces, the unity of leadership and command and unity of the material and technical equipping of the Armed Forces and of all-people's resistance.

Appreciation was expressed to the Yugoslav People's Army and to the Armed Forces as a whole for having preserved, despite the critical situation in society, ideopolitical unity and moral firmness, and contributed to the stability of the entire society.

It is the commission's unanimous view that the Yugoslav People's Army, as the striking section of the Armed Forces, must in the future be united, morally firm and organized, armed, equipped, trained and mobile in such a way as to be able to successfully meet the first and most powerful strike of the aggressor, make possible, with territorial defense and along with the involvement of other forces of defense and security, the transition of society to the state of war and carry on the battle with the main forces of the aggressor until final victory. Attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and the entire all-people's defense were most severely denounced. The demand was voiced for the LC to wage more consistently the struggle against such phenomena and their exponents, the report of the commission for all-people's defense and social self-protection stressed.

When the reports on the work of the six commissions were adopted, the congress went on to endorse the report of the Commission for Proposals and Petitions, which was explained by Pal Benak. He told the delegates that the 13th LCY Congress had received 1,112 petitions, appeals, complaints, proposals, and letters.

Such a high number of petitions, never recorded at any previous congress, is an expression, Benak said, of the working peoples' and citizens' trust in the LCY, and its readiness to be resolutely committed to eliminating unconstitutional and illegal actions, as well as all other phenomena opposed to self-management. But, this is also at the same time an indicator that in many environments there is stagnation in developing self-managing socioeconomic relations. This is manifested mostly in the violation and usurpation of self-managing and other rights of the working people and citizens, and in particular, of the lack of efficiency of many organs and organizations.

Benak said that during its seven sessions, the commission discussed 909 petitions, 212 of which referred to statutory issues and 697 to personal problems of the working people and citizens and to the state of society. Among them are 34 collective petitions with 315 signatures, 45 petitions containing proposals to resolve various issues of broader social significance, and 47 anonymous letters. Of the 212 complaints relating to statutory issues, 167 refer to decisions on expulsion from the LC; 25 to ideopolitical measures taken against individuals, warnings and last warnings; 17 to demands for recognition of controversial years of service in the LC; and 3 to the decision to be struck from the records of LC membership.

Following a detailed discussion of the reasons listed in the complaints and the attached documents, the commission proposed to the 13th Congress to accept the complaint put forward by the Zagreb-Medvescak municipal committee presidium of the Croatian LC and to have the ideopolitical measure of last warning pronounced on Dusan Cekic from Zagreb commuted into the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the LC.

It was proposed to the congress that 77 complaints be passed on to the Commission for Statutory Questions of the LCY and other LC organs and basic organizations for verification, and that 120 be rejected due to lack of substantiation by fresh evidence.

The most frequent reasons and causes for resoration to the LC in this way in insufficient political sensitivity, inefficiency, and bureaucratic attitude of a considerable number of responsible social factors in resolving vital issues for workers and citizens.

Many petitions refer to various kinds of violations of constitutionality and legality such as enrichment without working for it, bribery, corruption, and unjustified social differences, as well as nationalism and chauvinism, with consequences which have been manifested in the most drastic way in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and which are reflected particularly in the constant exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from that area.

Letters from many complainants are characteristic; weighed down by material troubles such as price rises, low personal incomes, and minimum pensions, they appeal to the delegates of the 13th Congress to devote particular attention to these issues in their deliberations. People without jobs expect the congress to introduce more order and legality in this sphere, and they insist that concrete political measures and actions be taken to restore respect for the rights of those who have waited longer, who need work more, and who are more skilled.

Pal Benak said that the commission's assessment was that seven petitions called for the direct intervention of LCY top-ranking organs. Among them is the letter from Jovanka Broz. They are to be passed on to the LCY Central Committee.

The fourth plenary session of the 13th LCY Congress, chaired by Milanko Renovica, adopted nine resolutions:

- on the LC tasks in developing socioeconomic relations and the political system;
- on the LC tasks in the economic and scientific-technological development;
- on the LC tasks in ideopolitical and action training of the LC;
- on the LC tasks in the struggle for peace and equitable education and upbringing;
- on the LC tasks in the development of culture;
- on the LC tasks in implementing the LCY platform on Kosovo;
- on the LC tasks in implementing freedom, rights, and responsibility of man and citizen; and,
- on the LC tasks in realizing the social role of the young generation.

Milan Kucan explained the proposed regulations

What stems from the debate is the general realization and clear demand, he said, that there can be no further development of socialist self-management if the foundations causing the statist relations or production, above all, in the expanded and social reproduction, to be self-perpetuating, are not eliminated from the economic and political system.

Kucan stressed the debate demonstrated great interest and concern for the fate, unity and development of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing, multinational, federal community from which also stems the responsibility of every part of our community for everything taking place in it, or in any part of it, or what should take place through our future ideo-political action.

Kucan believes that for the LC action to take place immediately after the congress, it will be of great significance that we create conditions to implement the crucial strategic tasks both of the LC and of society -- tasks we have laid down in the congress resolutions. Since the number of these tasks is high a clear selection is called for.

First we should resolve issues which will extricate us as soon and as reliably as possible from the existing social difficulties and economic crisis and at the same time unfold prospects for more socialism, for a socialism richer in its material and spiritual aspects, economically more efficient and of more democratic and humane contents and opportunities.

Kucan also believes it is a matter of great significance to mobilize the entire party membership and to commit and rally all social potentials and all society's progressive forces to implement the congress tasks.

Kucan informed the delegates that while the commission was at work it received 163 amendments proposing changes and supplements to the texts of the congress resolutions, their improvement or further elaboration of stances and tasks contained in these documents. The commission discussed every proposal, comment, suggestion or demand, including those which were a matter of principle or fairly general. Most of these amendments had been fully or partly adopted. The commission rejected amendments which did not fit the concept and structure of the resolutions or which, by their contents and proposals, deviated from the basic orientations. In this context, proposals contrary to the role of the LC and the function of the congress were also rejected.

At the end of his speech, Kucan stressed that in these decisive moments and periods of our society, the actions and efficiency of subjective forces, and above all, of the LC is crucial; that is, their ability to grasp, on the basis of a critical examination of the situation of society, the origins of what is new and progressive and give the most progressive replies to resolve the accumulated economic and social contradictions, along the path of development of socialist self-management and strengthening of the federal nature of the Yugoslav community and of brotherhood and unity of our peoples. This is the meaning of implementing the long-term economic stabilization program and of the entire activity in applying the knowledge contained in the critical analysis and gained from the public debate on it. This is the fundamental task of the 13th LCY Congress and therein lies the significance of its conclusions, Kucan said.

The congress then adopted the proposed amendments and supplements to the LCY statute. There were 145 amendments. In explaining the proposals, Jure Bilic, chairman of the commission, said the aim of the new statutory premises was to settle all fundamental issues of the LC internal relations in a uniform manner, this also having been the demand of the all-party debate. Bilic said not a single forum organ could turn a deaf ear to the demands put forward in the public debate in connection with the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, an exceptionally significant and far-reaching event in the life of the LCY. Criticisms and demands voiced in that debate represented the starting point in the work on amending and supplementing the LCY statute.

Dealing with individual premises of the new statute, Bilic said that the general principles emphasized the components of the LCY unity as being the vanguard of the Yugoslav working class, which expressed and struggled for the genuine interests of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

The statute contains the orientation about the integral settling of relations in the Serbian LC; that is, about the LC's of the provinces within the indivisible LCY and the Serbian LC.

The statute defines the obligation and responsibility of organizations and organs of the Serbian LC and of the provincial LC's for the initiatives launched by basic organizations as well as for stances and conclusions adopted by organs and forums of the LCY and of the Serbian LC. In the debate, according to Bilic, a considerable number of comments were made about determining the independence of the republics in the single LCY. However, the commission is of the view that the independence of the republican and provincial LC's is both a historical and topical political category of equal proportion that demonstrates the specific and special nature of LCY relations, that is, that unity could not be built and implemented without adequate independence. Independence is both a manifestation and a condition of unity. The existing degree of independence of the republican and provincial LC's in the single LCY is a result of long historical experience and of the need in the development of our communist movement, beginning with the mid-thirties and in particular since Josip Broz Tito became general secretary.

Speaking about the essence of democratic centralism, Jure Bilic noted changes introduced in the statute would contribute to developing a consciousness about a greater democratic spirit and unity, and at the same time it would also influence the way decisions are implemented in line with these fundamental party principles.

In the debate preceding the congress as well as at the congress, topical issues concerning cadre policy in both the LC and society were pointed out. The proposal was made to bind the LCY Central Committee through the statute to settle these issues with a special ruling on the basis of a preceding public debate. In opting for such a proposal, Bilic explained we proceeded from the knowledge that the crisis in society also has its cadre component.

As regards the organization of the leaderships of the republics, provinces and the LCY, Bilic pointed out that various proposals and alternatives were put forward. He indicated in particular the novelty by which the LCY Central Committee has the right to take the initiative for convening an extraordinary congress of the republican LC's, extraordinary conference of the provincial LC's and of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army when deviations from the LCY policy and program occur.

When Jure Bilic ended his speech, three amendments were put forward to the proposed changes and supplements to the LCY statute. Danica Milosavljevic believed that the formulation about the republican and provincial LC's being "united" in the LCY should be deleted from the statute. Djuro Bilbija proposed that the obligation should be laid down in the statute that, in elections for all LC organs, there should be several candidates and that the present practice of standard candidates being elected should be discontinued. Milos Perovic insisted on a standard party membership fee for the entire LCY. Not one of these three amendments was passed by the congress.

At the end of the 4 days of work, Milanko Renovica, who chaired the session, thanked, on behalf of the congress, all organs and organization as well as the citizens of Belgrade -- the Hero City -- who had provided the conditions for work and who had extended their hospitality to all delegates and guests. He also thanked those who had committed themselves to organizational, technical and other business and who had contributed to the successful work of the important gathering of Yugoslav Communists. Thanks were also expressed to the Sava center work collective and to numerous foreign and Yugoslav journalists who had provided extensive and timely reports on the work of the 13th congress. The 13th LCY congress ended with the singing of the song "Comrade Tito, we swear to you...."